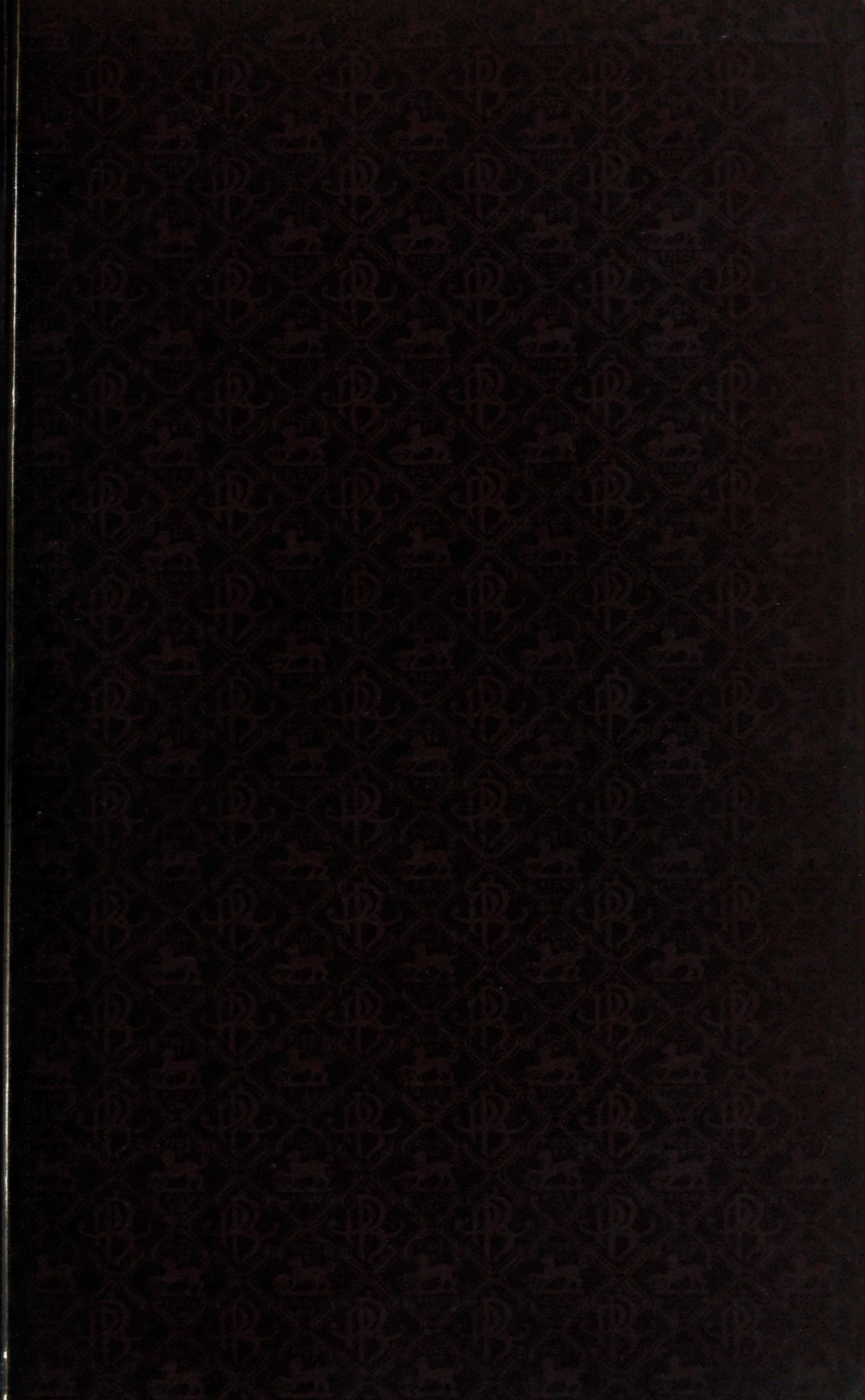


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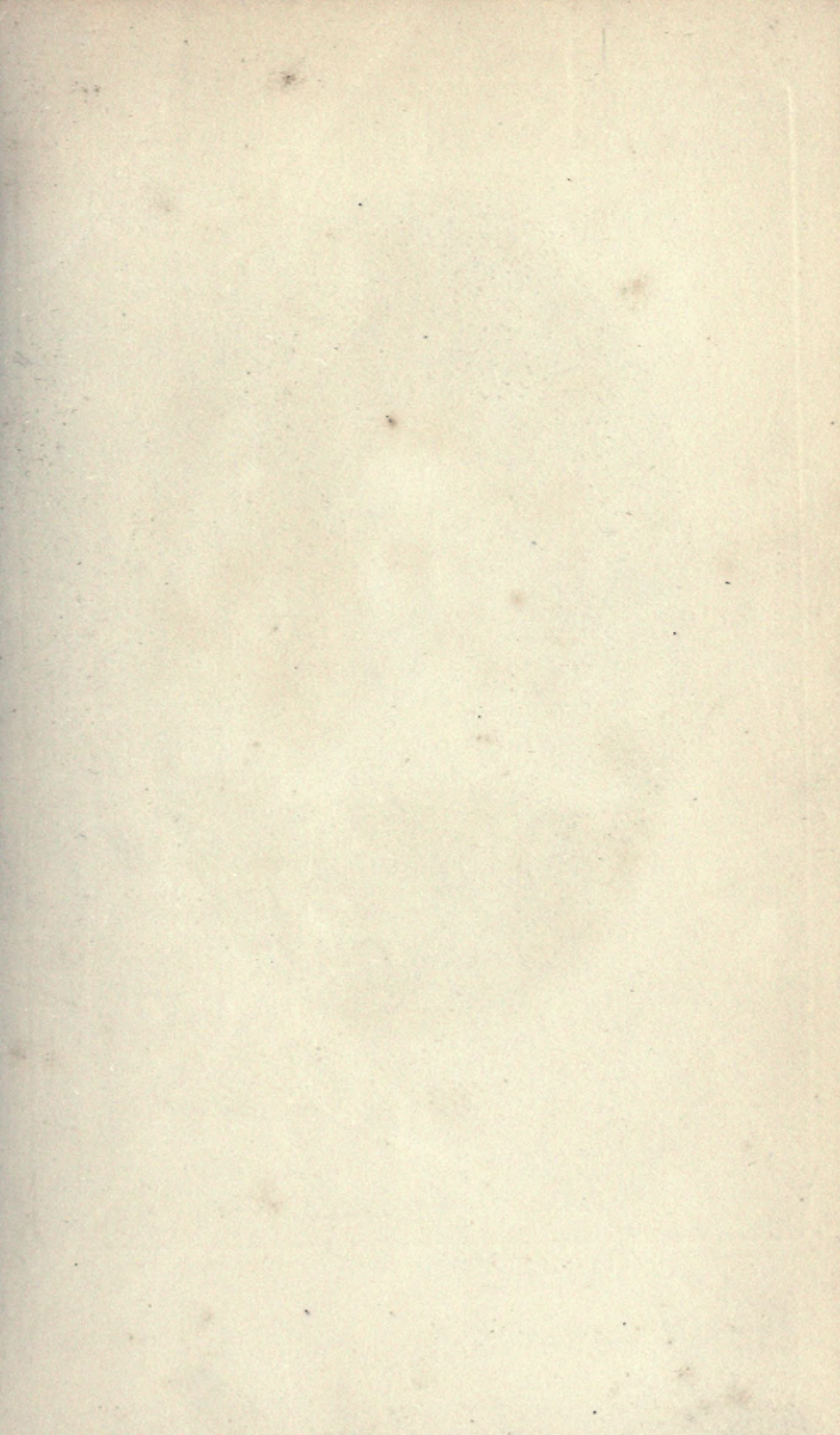




CORRESPONDENCE

OF

PRINCESS LIEVEN AND EARL GREY





Albion

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
PRINCESS LIEVEN
AND
EARL GREY

EDITED AND TRANSLATED
BY
GUY LE STRANGE



WITH PORTRAITS

VOL. I.
1824 TO 1830

LONDON
RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON

Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen

1890

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TO
HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.,
TO WHOSE CARE THE CORRESPONDENCE WAS
BEQUEATHED,
THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED,
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF MUCH KINDNESS, BY
THEIR TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

PREFACE.

SOME account may prove interesting of the circumstances which now, after the lapse of so many years, have brought about the publication of the correspondence between Princess Lieven and Earl Grey. After the death of Lord Grey, in July, 1845, it would appear that Princess Lieven received back from the executors the whole of her correspondence with the late Earl, of which some letters dated as far back as the year 1823. In former years, during the time when Prince Lieven was Russian Ambassador in London, the Princess and her husband had been on terms of much intimacy with the first Duke of Sutherland and his wife, the Duchess-Countess; and after the death of Prince Lieven, when Paris had become Princess Lieven's home, she frequently was the guest, at Stafford House, of the second Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, on the occasions when she could be prevailed upon to cross the Channel and visit her friends in England. In 1846, therefore, when the packets containing her letters to Lord Grey were finally returned, it was the Duke of Sutherland whom Princess Lieven requested (in a letter dated Paris, October

13, 1846) 'de garder chez vous, sous votre garde, selon nos conventions, la correspondance de Lord Grey.'

Lady Grey, in 1846, a year after her husband's death, had expressed an intention of writing a memoir in justification of Lord Grey's political career, and had written to Princess Lieven requesting to be allowed to read through the correspondence, in order (as the Princess states) to discover therein 'des preuves patentes de certaines opinions, de certains jugements de son mari sur des faits et sur des personnes politiques qui puissent servir de justification à des imputations calomnieuses sur Lord Grey.'

The letter from which the preceding paragraph is extracted was addressed to the Duke of Sutherland under date of October 27, 1846, and in it the Princess begs that he will communicate with Lady Grey, and express to her the regrets that she, Princess Lieven, feels at being unable to comply with the wish that her correspondence with Lord Grey should be used by Lady Grey for her projected publication. The Princess states her reasons, requesting that they may be forwarded to Lady Grey in justification of this refusal. The Princess, after noting that she has heard that Lady Grey 's'occupe d'une publication,' continues: 'Et bien, Monsieur le Duc, il ne convient ni à moi, ni à la mémoire de Lord Grey, qu'aujourd'hui, lorsque les faits sont récents, lorsque les personnages qui figurent dans nos lettres sont encore vivants, il ne convient, dis-je, ni à lui, ni à moi qu'on sache jusqu'à quel point d'intimité et de confiance le chef de l'opposition pendant dix ans, le chef

du gouvernement pendant quatre, s'est trouvé avec une ambassadrice étrangère. Un jour, quand je n'y serai plus, il arrivera de nos lettres ce qu'on voudra. Certainement les siennes appartiennent à l'histoire; les miennes peuvent servir à des éclaircissements. Lui et moi nous sommes restés dans nos situations naturelles—lui très anglais, moi très russe—mais nous abandonnant à un degré de confiance rare, qui n'a jamais été trompée.'

The Duke of Sutherland's answers to Madame de Lieven's letters have none of them been preserved. To judge, however, by the next letter from the Princess, he would appear to have suggested that, in view of their ultimate publication, Lord Grey's letters would gain in interest by having Madame de Lieven's replies appended to them; and an inquiry must have followed as to what were her wishes in regard to the ultimate fate of the correspondence, and whether it were to be deposited meanwhile at Stafford House.

The answering letter from the Princess is dated Paris, November 19 following, and contains the subjoined paragraphs:

'J'adopte tout à fait votre pensée à l'égard de mes lettres à Lord Grey. Toutes inférieures qu'elles soient aux siennes, elles complètent cependant une correspondance qui embrasse une période assez considérable, et de l'histoire de votre pays. Je crois donc utile de les joindre au volume de lettres que vous possédez, et c'est à vous aussi que j'en laisserai la garde et la propriété.

Votre idée a servi à développer les miennes sur ce sujet. Comme cette correspondance était régulièrement interrompue tous les ans, pendant plusieurs mois, par le séjour de Lord Grey à Londres, il s'en suit naturellement de grandes lacunes dans le récit des faits. Ma mémoire est encore si bonne qu'à l'aide d'autres documents que je possède je pourrais suppléer à ces lacunes par des narrations qui lieraient les événements entre eux, et serviraient de chaîne à cette correspondance. Ceci la compléterait entièrement. . . . Je passe, Monsieur le Duc, aux questions que vous m'adressez : l'époque où cette correspondance pourrait être publiée ? J'adopte le terme que vous avez fixé, à savoir, lorsque votre fils aura atteint sa cinquantième année, ou bien—sur le principe d'incertitude de la vie humaine—fixons le chiffre rond de l'année 1880.'

The paragraphs following were in answer to the inquiry, on the Duke's part, whether Lady Grey, or any other person, should be allowed, before 1880, to read the letters ; and in view of Lord Grey's wish expressed in a letter to the Princess dated November 4, 1834—' You see how freely I write, but it is only upon condition that my letters are never seen by anybody but yourself'—Madame de Lieven concludes that she would not be justified in allowing anybody at present to examine them. Princess Lieven finishes her letter by requesting that the Duke will send her the box containing the correspondence, directing it to the care of Count de Jarnac, who will see to its transmission to Paris.

Into her hands the letters safely came, in the course of the December following, and during the year 1847 Princess Lieven was occupied in looking them through, and classifying them according to dates. From the present condition of these documents, it would appear that in one or two instances the Princess, presumably at this period, blotted out certain passages in her later letters. Apparently, too, the task of filling in the '*lacunes par des narrations qui lieraient les événements entre eux*' was found to be unnecessary, or beyond the strength of the Princess—in any case, nothing of the kind was ever accomplished; and in January, 1848, the whole correspondence was sent back to Stafford House, and given over finally to the charge of the Duke. A letter dated from Paris January 10, 1848, opens with the following passage, which must be the last of the present extracts from the letters written by the Princess to the late Duke of Sutherland:

'Monsieur le Duc, je vous envoie aujourd'hui le complément de la correspondance, toutes mes lettres à Lord Grey. Elles sont très intimes, plus intimes que les siennes. Je ne saurais vous refuser, à vous, la lecture de ces lettres, si tant est que vous mettiez de prix et de curiosité à les lire. Mais j'insiste, plus que jamais, que ce soit vous seul, et la Duchesse, qui les lisiez. Votre discrétion et votre amitié pour moi sont mes garanties, et vous verrez en lisant à quel point l'absolue discrétion m'est nécessaire.'

At Stafford House the correspondence remained, from the date of the above, locked up till the year

1880, Princess Lieven having passed away in 1857, and the second Duke of Sutherland having in the meantime been succeeded by his son the present Duke. Indeed, it was not till 1885 that any effectual steps were taken to carry out the wishes of the Princess. In the spring of that year the Duke of Sutherland showed me at Stafford House the correspondence bound in ten thick quarto volumes, and requested that I should look through them, with a view, if possible, to making the needful arrangements for their publication. After glancing cursorily through the volumes, and reading the written instructions left by the Princess (already given in the quotations on the preceding pages), it appeared to me that the wishes of the writer would best be carried out by publishing her letters and those of Lord Grey, respectively in French and in English, in their proper sequence, only adding such needful matter in the form of notes as might be required to elucidate the incidents mentioned in the text. I began, therefore, by copying out in extenso the first three quarto volumes containing the letters, and armed with this as a specimen, took the advice of literary friends, and proceeded in search of a publisher willing to undertake the book. The advice, however, which I received from friends perplexed and discouraged me; and my subsequent interviews with the publishers only confirmed what I had been told elsewhere. It appeared to be practically impossible to bring out a book half in French and half in English, as I proposed, and the publishers whom I saw, one and all, refused to undertake the work in the form in which it

then stood. I was told that the book must be in one language, and it devolved on me, therefore (much against my will), to turn the French portions into English, so as to correspond with the other half of the work.

An Italian proverb asserts that every translator is a traitor, and I certainly do not lay claim to have any exception made in my favour. The graceful, and yet pungent, style of the original French must needs be lost to a great extent in an English version. I have done my best to keep this as literal as was consistent with passably idiomatic English; but those who have had a like experience to the ungrateful task thus imposed upon me, will bear me witness that, an English letter, being so utterly dissimilar in style to one written in French, any translation, not to verge on the ludicrous, has often to take the form of a paraphrase. In the present instance hard necessity alone is the excuse for what I have attempted to carry through. I need scarcely point out how much more satisfactory it would have been to myself (and, I cannot help thinking, to most of my readers also) had it been sufficient merely to copy out the Princess's letters in the French, instead of attempting the task of their translation.

While on this subject, I may state that whenever the Princess, as sometimes occurs, writes a phrase in her letters in English, her words have been inserted verbatim in my translation, and attention is called to the occurrence by single inverted commas. On the other hand, the few French sentences which occur in Lord

Grey's letters I have thought it needless to translate, and have left them as they stood.

A considerable number of letters in the earlier part of the correspondence have been omitted, as not being sufficiently interesting to warrant their insertion, and in order to husband the space as much as might be for more important matter. Further, I have cut out considerable portions of some of the letters (the place of omissions being indicated by points) where the writers had made repetitions, or had dilated at length on the subject of the weather, personal health, and other matters of merely ephemeral interest.

Anything that I have added to the text has been enclosed in square brackets. The dates, for example, of the Princess's letters are generally put in from the dockets in Lord Grey's handwriting found on the blank sheet. These dockets, however, are in a few cases evidently incorrect, and in some instances I have had to insert the date of day and month with a note of interrogation, having had for sole guide the references to passing events, found in the letters.

Princess Lieven, as a rule, besides dating her letters insufficiently, signed them with a complicated form of dash only. This I have replaced in the printed text by a bar.

It is worth noting that whenever a signature does occur, it is invariably 'D. Lieven,' although in speaking of her husband, the Princess writes 'Monsieur de Lieven.'

For the information embodied in my notes, I have

consulted Mr. Henry Reeve's edition of C. C. Greville's '*Diary*,' and Sir H. Bulwer's '*Life of Lord Palmerston*.' Further, the *Histories of England* for the period by Mr. S. Walpole and Miss Martineau, and the excellent summary by Mr. R. Lodge, published by Murray, under the title of '*The Student's Modern Europe*.' The well-known '*Political Sketches*' by H. B., have been of assistance in identifying individuals mentioned incidentally, or under a sobriquet. For the dates of events during the Polish insurrection, and in the spelling of Polish names, I have consulted the work of S. B. Gnorowski, London, 1839, entitled '*The Insurrection of Poland in 1830-31*.'

To the various authors and editors of the above works I beg to tender my acknowledgments.

Many have aided me with counsel and information on obscure points, and I owe a large debt of gratitude to my friends. To the Duke of Sutherland above all do I feel grateful, not only for placing these letters in my hands, but also for having ever with cordial goodwill promptly aided me, when and how I needed help, to overcome the difficulties that beset the undertaking. To Earl Grey my thanks are due for permission to proceed in the publication of his father's letters.

Two volumes of this correspondence, bringing it down to the year 1834, when Lord Grey resigned office, and Princess Lieven left England, are now given to the public, but the third and concluding volume is ready for the press, and will be published should the reception accorded the present volumes warrant its appearance.

The final volume will contain the letters down to August, 1841, after which the correspondence apparently ceased. It is intended that an index shall appear at the close of the work, and this will explain its absence from the volumes issued at the present date.

22, PIAZZA DELL' INDIPENDENZA,

FLORENCE,

November, 1889.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

PRINCESS LIEVEN.

PRINCESS LIEVEN, née *Dorothée Benkendorf*, born in December, 1784, was the daughter of General *Christopher Benkendorf*, and descended from an ancient Livonian family. *Dorothée Benkendorf* received her education at an institution that enjoyed the patronage of the Empress *Marie*, wife of *Paul I.*, and mother of the Czars *Alexander I.* and *Nicholas*. In 1801, at the age of sixteen, *Dorothée* married Count *Christopher Lieven*. At the Peace of *Tilsit*, in 1807, Count *Lieven* had attained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and in 1810 was accredited to Berlin as Russian Minister Plenipotentiary, at the Court of *Frederick-William III.* In 1812 Count *Lieven* was appointed Ambassador in London, and held this post for the following two-and-twenty years. At the time of the coronation of the Emperor *Nicholas* (September, 1826), Count *Lieven* received the title of Prince. In 1834 Prince *Lieven* was recalled from London, and named Governor to the young *Czarewitch*, in after-years the Emperor *Alexander II.*

It was while travelling with the *Czarewitch* that Prince *Lieven* was taken suddenly ill, and died in Rome, January, 1839.

Princess *Lieven* (who survived her husband during eighteen years) was at this time living in Paris, occupying the entresol of Prince *Talleyrand's* hôtel, at No. 1, Rue St. Florentin. She continued to reside here, with short interruptions of absence from Paris, down to the time of her death, in January, 1857.

Princess *Lieven* had two brothers, whose names occur in the following pages. Count *Alexander Benkendorf*, four years her senior, was

aide-de-camp to the Emperor Nicholas, and at one time Chief of the Secret Police. He died in 1844. Count Constantine Benkendorf was born in the same year as the Princess ; he rose to the rank of General in the Russian service, and died of fever, in 1828, at Pravadi, during the first campaign of the war against Turkey.

*Princess Lieven had, in all, five sons and one daughter. Two sons, Alexander and Paul, alone survived their parents. Of the younger children, the only daughter died, presumably, in infancy ; Arthur and George died at Petersburg, of scarlet fever, in 1835 ; while Constantine, having incurred his father's displeasure, left his family and died in America in the year 1838.**

EARL GREY.

Charles, second Earl Grey, was born in 1764, and was, therefore, by twenty years, senior to Princess Lieven. As Mr. Grey, he had entered Parliament in 1786, sitting for the county of Northumberland. He was subsequently one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and on the death of Mr. Pitt, in 1806, took office under Mr. Fox as First Lord of the Admiralty. On the death of the latter, in October of this same year, Mr. Grey, now become Lord Howick, was appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and was leader of the House of Commons, Lord Grenville holding the office of First Lord of the Treasury. The Grenville-Grey Cabinet retired in March, 1807, and Lord Howick, by the death of his father in this same year, succeeded to the peerage.

At the time of Queen Caroline's trial, the honest and independent part taken by Lord Grey, combined with the powers he displayed during the debates in the House of Lords, won for him the increased respect of the nation, but, at the same time, the undying aversion of George IV. ; and it was only after that Sovereign's death that Lord Grey returned to office. During four years, from 1830 to 1834, he was head of the

* An excellent account of Princess Lieven, from the pen of one who knew her during forty years both in London and Paris, is to be found in the Third Part of Mr. C. Greville's "*Diary*," vol. ii., pp. 76-83. In the "*Biographie Universelle de Michaud*," tome xxiv., M. Guillaume Guizot has written a biographical notice of Madame de Lieven, which may be consulted with advantage.

Administration which carried the Reform Bill. In July of the latter year he retired from office, and took no further prominent part in politics. Lord Grey died July 17, 1845, aged 81.

Lord Grey, in 1794 (being at that time Mr. Grey), married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of William, first Baron Ponsonby, whose widow, Lady Ponsonby, subsequently married William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam. Lady Grey died in 1861.

Lady Grey's brother John, afterwards Viscount Ponsonby, filled several important posts in the diplomatic service, and successively became British Ambassador at Constantinople and Vienna.

Earl Grey had eight sons and five daughters, many of whose names find mention in the following correspondence. His eldest son, Henry, Lord Howick, is the present Earl Grey. Charles, a general in the army, was private secretary to H.R.H. the Prince Consort, and remained in the Queen's household down to the time of his decease in 1870. Frederick and George served in the royal navy, and both attained the rank of Admiral. John and Francis entered the Church: the former became Canon of Durham; the latter holds the rectory of Morpeth. Henry served in the army, and William, the youngest son, was a secretary in the diplomatic service.

Lord Grey's eldest daughter, Lady Louisa, married (1816) J. G. Lambton, afterwards Earl of Durham. Lady Elizabeth married (1826) J. C. Bulteel. Lady Caroline married (1827) Captain the Hon. G. Barrington, R.N. Lady Mary married (1829) the Right Hon. Sir C. Wood, Bart., M.P., afterwards Viscount Halifax. Lady Georgiana Grey is the only one of Lord Grey's daughters at present surviving. Of the brothers and sisters of the second Earl, the only individuals mentioned in the correspondence are his brother, Sir George Grey, Bart., of Falloden, who died in 1828; his brother Edward, Bishop of Hereford, who married a daughter of Lord Grey's old friend, Sir Robert Adair (so often mentioned in the letters); and, finally, his sister Lady Hannah, who became the wife of the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, M.P. for Coventry, one of the founders of the Reform Club, and well known in society under the sobriquet of 'Bear Ellice.'

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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
PRINCESS LIEVEN AND OF EARL GREY.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE IV.—LORD LIVERPOOL PREMIER.

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To Earl Grey.

Windsor,
Sept. 3rd, 1824.

I AM very culpable, I know, my dear lord, but as I
am equally repentant let us pass over the chapter of
my offences. I never can write when it is hot, but
since my conscience will leave me no peace to-day, I
must send you just a little letter.

For the last few weeks I have been ever on the move. I stayed some time at Brighton, then went to Panshanger, and here I am, since five days past, as the King's guest. Is this not exactly the right place whence to write an answer to your letter of the 15th of August?*

However, your letter contains a page and a half that I shall pass over in silence, though I am fond of a discussion; but this we will leave to another occasion. We pass our days here, and almost all our nights too, on the water; it is the only way not to suffocate. I learn with regret that you are going down North to attend to the business of your estate; and since M. de Lieven must attend to his business in London, and as there is no chance of my spending the month of September elsewhere than in the neighbourhood of that city, I must—for the time, at least—give up all idea of visiting you in Devonshire. How long will you be away? Will you pass through London either going or returning?

I know nothing positive about the Austrian edict issued against Lord Holland.† The form, as reported, is, I think, entirely false; although the fact of the prohibition I believe to be perfectly correct. It would be too ridiculous, putting Lord Holland into company with such a seraglio of women. They might, at least, have done him the honour of naming him in a separate document. The King of France‡ is certainly on the

* Missing.

† Referring to the ridiculous edicts issued in March by Prince Metternich to guard against the entry into the Austrian dominions of any 'persons of a suspicious appearance.' Lord Holland, from his 'notoriously very bad sentiments, and well known as an enthusiastic adherent of Radicalism,' was to be refused permission to come within the Imperial frontiers. In the same document were also mentioned four English ladies—Lady Oxford, Mrs. Hutchinson, the Comtesse Bourke, and Lady Morgan, 'the British authoress of ultra-Liberal tendency.'

‡ Louis XVIII.

point of death ; they walk him about and can make him speak, but that is all.

I have received news from Russia. My excuses for not returning there at present have been well received, but an absolute wish is expressed that I should go back next year. The Emperor* has just named my eldest son a gentleman-in-waiting, which gives me the greatest pleasure, though it will force me to separate from him.

Adieu, my dear lord. Do not take me for your model, but write to me soon.

In spite of my laziness, I think of you very often.

Endsleigh [Tavistock],

Sept. 7th, 1824.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I received your letter yesterday before I left Devonport. You will probably have seen in the papers an account of the death of Lady Fitzwilliam, Lady Grey's mother. It was, I think, the very day after I wrote to you that we received the first account that alarmed us, though she had been ill from the beginning of the month. From that day the arrival of every post was a renewal of alarm and affliction to Lady Grey ; and this protracted misery, I had the greatest fear, might produce very injurious effects on her health, which till then had been gradually but constantly improving. . . . As soon as we received the last fatal intelligence, I determined on bringing her here, hoping that a change of scene and the greater retirement of this place might be of use to her. It belongs, as you probably know, to the Duke of Bedford, and its

* Alexander I.

beauty and comfort are not to be described. To be thoroughly enjoyed, it ought to be visited when 'hope and love are young;' but in affliction the tranquillity of such a retirement is soothing. We propose staying here till the beginning of next week. For the present my intention of going into the North is abandoned, to be resumed, however, if Lady Grey is well enough to allow of my leaving her, before the end of the autumn.

I was very glad to hear of your son's appointment, as it appears to give you pleasure, and hope it will prove the commencement of a successful and honourable career through life. Rejoice with me in the destruction of the Turks at Ipsara, and the prospect of final success to the Greek cause. In this, at least, I hope we may agree.

What are these insurrections in Spain?—I am afraid not likely, at present at least, to be so successful as those of the Greeks. But sooner or later I am persuaded the Government of Ferdinand must be overturned, though not, I fear, without another war in Europe.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,
Very affectionately yours,

GREY.

[The Greek Insurrection, begun in 1821, had been protracted since that date with varying success. Lord Byron had died in April, 1824, at Missolonghi. In July the Turks defeated the Greeks near the town of Ipsara, and had massacred a number of the inhabitants. Their triumph, however, was of short duration. The Albanians managed to blow up a fort in which were some 12,000 Turks, and captured seventy of their gunboats.

In Spain the revolution begun by Colonel Riego in 1820 had forced Ferdinand VII. to swear to the democratic Constitution of 1812. The Congress of Verona (August, 1822) resulted in the occupa-

tion of Spain by the French army (April, 1823) under the Duc d'Angoulême, and Ferdinand revoked the Constitution. Despite the French occupation, however, which lasted till 1827, the insurrection of the Constitutionalists still broke out again and again.]

To Earl Grey.

Strathfieldsay,

Sept. 6th, 1824.

The newspapers acquaint me with the loss Lady Grey has just suffered, and I hasten, my dear lord, to express the sincere sympathy I feel with you in a calamity which must touch you all so nearly. Pray let me know how Lady Grey has borne the blow. I trust you are not going to leave her at present, when she must so much need your consoling care.

We came here yesterday from Windsor. The company is sufficiently numerous, especially in the foreign element. The man who interests me most among them all is Alava,* though, as needs must, our opinions are as the antipodes one from the other. It was curious to hear the candid avowal he made of his horror at the idea of a popular Government. He goes so far as to admit that he considers Ferdinand absolute and despotic is a hundred times better than any attempt at a Constitution.

Adieu, my dear lord. I wrote to you the other day, and I do not want to overwhelm you with my letters. What lovely weather it is! Are you profiting by it? I go back to town to-morrow, and at the end

* Miguel Alava, born 1771; died 1843. A Spanish statesman and soldier, an intimate friend of the Duke of Wellington, under whom he had served in Spain. Alava had been King Ferdinand's Ambassador to Holland. After the Revolution of 1820, he became President of the Cortes, which had forced the King to swear to the Constitution of 1812. The French occupation enabled the King to break his oath, and Alava was forced to retire to England.

of the week on again to Panshanger, and then about the 20th to Middleton.

Is there no chance of your coming there too?

Yours ever,

Government House, Devonport,*

Sept. 16th, 1824.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

The letter which I wrote to you from Endsleigh was, by anticipation, an answer to that which I received from you a day or two afterwards. Yet I must thank you for it, and say how sensible I am of your kindness. We returned to this place on Tuesday, and Lady Grey has for the last two or three days been very low; but a visit to-day from Lady Morley has, I think, done her good, and she will, I trust, gradually recover the ground she has lost. It was my intention to have stopped at Middleton on my way to the North, and I hope it is unnecessary for me to add that I should have found a great additional pleasure in this visit if I could have met you there. At present I cannot leave Lady Grey.

So Louis XVIII. has gone at last,† there not being a corner left to which his soul could retreat from the corruption which, even before death, had preyed upon his whole frame. If I am to believe the newspapers, the reign of Charles X. is not likely to produce a change in the Government of France; and as I am quite sure, if any should take place, that it will not be for the better, I feel great indifference about it. I had conceived a great respect for Alava, but what you say

* Placed at Lord Grey's disposal by the Duke of Wellington, Lady Grey's state of health requiring a southern climate.

† Died September 16.

rather weakens it. Is it possible that, having sacrificed so much in the best cause for which man ever fought, he should so discredit it by his present language? What excuse can he have for such a change of opinion except want of success? For you must remember that this very Constitution, to which he says that the Government of that monster Ferdinand is preferable, is that which had been established in 1812, and of which he had some experience prior to its re-establishment in 1820. And is the present state of Spain so much better now than it was under that Constitution—from 1820 till the period at which the intrigues and the money of France produced enough of confusion to serve as a pretence for the most unprincipled invasion of which history makes any mention (not excepting that of Napoleon itself)—as to furnish any ground for such an opinion?

But these are discussions which ought not to take place between us. We never can agree, and I have no excuse to offer for having dwelt upon a subject upon which we must remain *aux antipodes*, but without any diminution, I trust, of the kindest feelings on all others.

Lady Grey desires to be very kindly remembered to you, and I remain, dear Madame de Lieven,

Ever yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Oct. 10th, 1824.

Forgive my long silence, my dear lord. I have had interruptions of all kinds, and my good intentions

always waited for the last postman's knock before making time to put themselves in practice, *i.e.*, for me to take pen in hand. Lady Jersey told me there was some hope that you would come to town for a few days. I write, therefore, in haste, fearing lest, being out of humour with me, you should pass through London without coming to call, and so punish me for having made you wait so long for an answer to your last letter. You see how well I know you! I have been living my usual wandering life, with sedentary intervals, however, for it was necessary to devote my time to some friends who had arrived from Petersburg. The Emperor has sent Count Osarofsky to the King in order to thank him for his intervention in the matter of our quarrel with the Porte. Count Osarofsky has brought his wife with him here, and I must try and do the honours of London to them—which is a very dull place just now. I do not, in fact, succeed in amusing them much, and hope that, being bored, they will leave the sooner.

Some people have come back during the last few days, and we have had a very pleasant little society of friends—the Jerseys, Cowpers, Granthams, the Duke of Wellington, and even the Duke of Devonshire. To-morrow, however, they all go out of town again, and we shall be left once more to our own devices. I saw Lord Granville during the two days he passed in London. At present he is only going to Paris for a few days' visit, to convey messages of condolence; he then goes on to Brussels to fetch his wife, but returns to take up his post, and relieve Sir Charles Stuart* in Paris by the first week in November. Sir Charles Bagot succeeds him at the Hague, and Stuart succeeds

* Afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

nobody. The King is still at the Cottage, in good health and good spirits. I do not, however, imagine his love of the country will survive the snow ; when this once comes, I know not where he will go to pass his winter. Brighton is out of favour, Windsor is all bricks and mortar, and Carlton House is falling to ruins.

Let me know, my dear lord, if Lady Jersey's news be true ; with all my heart I hope it is.

Good-bye.

Do not forget me, and do not be angry with me.

Howick,
Oct. 26th, 1824.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Your letter, which did not arrive at Devonport till after I had left that place, found me at Lambton Races. During the hurry and bustle of that time I had no good opportunity to write. The quiet, or rather the solitude, of this place, and a rainy day, which confines me to the house, naturally turn my thoughts to those whom I love and admire, and amongst the first to you. . . . We arrived here yesterday—that is, my daughter Elizabeth, my eldest son, and a boy whom I brought from school unwell. We are quite alone, and having no servants with us but those whom we brought on the journey, we can receive no company. So our life will not be very gay, and my time will chiefly be spent in settling a long arrear of business, the thing which of all others I hate the most.

At Lambton, during the races, we were in a very different scene, between forty and fifty people generally sitting down to dinner. Amongst the company were Lord and Lady Londonderry. The latter seems

a most extraordinary personage; but you know her better than I do, and it would be useless to attempt to describe her. In manner, embonpoint, and, above all, in the constant attendance of a page, she has something of Lady Holland, but not, as it appears to me, her sense and cleverness. She seems chiefly occupied with her jewels, which I found her one evening displaying to a circle of ladies, as a pedlar does his wares—from an immense box, which the page had some difficulty in carrying. As a perfect contrast to her, we had Lady Wilton there, one of the most charming persons I ever met with. The rest of the party, with the exception of Lady Normanby, were either persons who had nothing very interesting about them, or jockeys.

I have no longer animal spirits sufficient for a scene of this nature, and I was not sorry when it was over. Our journey was most dismal and dreary, the weather detestable, and a great part of the country completely under water. How much worse will it be in the depth of winter! The thoughts of returning five hundred miles at that season already alarm me, and sometimes I feel inclined to remain here alone till they can all come back to join me. I cannot imagine what made Lady Jersey fancy that I was to pass through town, of which I never had the least intention.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

Government House, Devonport,

Dec. 20th, 1824.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I am sure you will be glad to hear that we arrived here, all well, on Friday night. A more dis-

agreeable or a more tiresome journey I think I never made, though our weather was very favourable. I find Lady Grey improved in health, though not yet so well as I had hoped she would be before this time.

I was very sorry to see that the stormy weather, which has done so much mischief here, had extended, and even with greater violence, to Petersburg. I hope the accounts in the papers of the destruction of property and of the loss of lives there, are exaggerated, and, above all, I hope that nobody in whose welfare you feel any peculiar interest has suffered.

What are all these meetings of the Cabinet about? I hear from nobody, and know nothing; so it will be a great charity in you to send me any news that may be stirring. From hence I can send nothing in return. Either the incomparable dulness of the place or my stupidity has increased since I left it. I feel a strong temptation to go to town for the meeting of Parliament, which a word of encouragement from you would probably render irresistible; but all my plans at present are in the greatest uncertainty, and all my ideas in the greatest confusion.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours very affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Dec. 22nd, 1824.

I begin my letter by replying to the concluding sentence of yours, my dear lord. What need is there for you to resist the temptation which urges you to come up to London? Come, I entreat of you; I desire

it above all things. I want to see you once more, and I shall not have a chance of this after the first days of February.* This may be the least of reasons for you ; but a drop will make the bucket overflow, and I resign myself, in all humility, to becoming that drop, if only you will come.

The Cabinet Councils are over. There were thirteen of them (an unlucky number in the eyes of those who are superstitious). So much for quantity ; as to the quality, my ignorance must take refuge under a plea of circumspection. The world expected something to come of it all, and looked for some changes in the Administration. Lord Sidmouth's† leaving the Cabinet is the only visible result ; whatever else has taken place is hidden from the profane and vulgar. I do not think they adore one another much, but, as they stick together, they at least manage to endure each other's company.

All the Ministers have now left London, except Mr. Canning who is kept in town by a sharp attack of gout. The 20th of January they will all be back again. Could not we, too, have a meeting about that same time ? Think it over.

Lady Harrowby is going over to Paris in order to meet her husband. Mrs. Canning is gone there, too, for the purpose of getting her daughter ball-dresses. Such are the interesting items of news London affords.

As to Petersburg, it is, alas ! but too true that the town has suffered all the horrors you see described in the papers. The victims of the inundation are stated to number 30,000. Our magnificent granite quays,

* On account of her journey to Russia.

† Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Trade in Lord Liverpool's Government. Mr. Canning, since September, 1822, had been Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

and the bridges, all have been swept away, or greatly damaged. Line-of-battle ships have been carried inland by the floods, and stranded in the public squares. The magazines are all destroyed. The graveyards have been torn up by the waters, and the bodies floated into the neighbouring gardens. Everything is in a state of chaos. The Emperor had the misery of witnessing all these horrors from his window, and was unable, except in a very small degree, to remedy the disaster. As you will have read in the papers, he despatched my brother* to the succour of some wretched people who were perishing before his very eyes. My brother writes to me he expected he would himself have been engulfed time after time, but ended by saving, of his own unaided efforts, the lives of some twenty individuals. He was the only person of note who, I believe, suffered any peril. He is Aide-de-camp General to the Emperor, and was in waiting at the time.

I send you all my best wishes for the continuance of Lady Grey's convalescence. The weather is so mild now in London that, in truth, I do not see why she should not come up to town with you.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me that you are coming, and you cannot give me better news.

A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

[As a protest against the French occupation of Spain, which he had been unable to prevent, Mr. Canning had induced Lord Liverpool to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish South American colonies of Colombia and Buenos Ayres, calling, as he said, 'the New

* Count Alexander Benckendorff.

World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.' The Government despatched Special Commissioners to Spanish America, and with them sent out Consuls to the various ports to protect the interests of British trade.

Lord Sidmouth's resignation was in consequence of Mr. Canning's determination on this point.]

Government House [Devonport],

Jan. 16th, 1825.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I feel that I have behaved very ill in delaying so long to answer your last very kind letter. I was in hopes that by this time I should have been able to say when I might have the pleasure of seeing you in town. But, alas! as the time approaches, my difficulties increase, and I begin to fear that I shall not be able to attend the meeting of Parliament. After that time, as you tell me that you will not be able to see me after the first week of February, my desire to go will be very much diminished. I hope I shall have some account of you when you are no longer able to write; for, believe me, nobody can take a more anxious and affectionate interest in all that concerns you than I do.

If I am to believe the papers, this recognition, as it is called, of the new Governments in America has thrown you all into great confusion. But surely you must have expected, and consequently have been prepared for, some measure of this nature. But, after all, is it a recognition? This question, though treated as one subject, no doubt, seems to me to be involved in some ambiguity. That it will ultimately lead to a formal recognition, I hope and believe; but for the present, what has been done appears to me to be liable to different interpretations, and may not improbably

be represented in one view by the adherents of Mr. Canning, and by those of Lord Eldon* in another.

The Commissioners, for so I understand they are called, and not Ministers, are now lying before my windows in the Sound. They sailed yesterday, but after being out in one of the most tempestuous nights I ever remember, have been forced to put back this morning by the violence of the wind, which was directly against them, and, indeed, was so when they sailed. The wife of one of them, Mrs. Ward, is on board, and expects to be confined before the end of the voyage. She was married about eight months ago, has only a maid as young as herself, and no medical attendant, except the surgeon of the ship, who, as seamen are not often brought to bed, probably has little skill in matters of this nature. Think of such a situation in a miserable small ship of twenty-six guns, crowded not only with passengers, but, like Noah's ark, with every species of living animal. Even last night seems to me to have been enough to kill her. I see the *Petersburg Gazette* very much diminishes the extent of the calamities produced by the late storm. In this instance I sincerely hope this account may be more accurate than such accounts usually are. Your brother's safety, after his humane and successful exertions to save the poor people whom he saw perishing, must have made you very happy.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

* Lord Chancellor.

[During the next eight months the correspondence apparently ceased. The later part of this period Madame de Lieven was in Russia, at the Court of the Emperor ; and Lord Grey (as he states in a letter of October 1) did not write, having a rooted distrust of the foreign post-offices.

Madame de Lieven returned to England in September, very well pleased with her visit of six weeks at Court, having accomplished a journey of 4,500 miles in three months, as she writes to Lord Grey on October 8 from Brighton.

December 1, 1825, the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia died suddenly of a fever at Taganrog, while on a journey to the Crimea. Alexander had no children to succeed him. He left three brothers—Constantine, born in 1779, at this time Governor of Poland, where his cruelties were notorious ; Nicholas, born in 1796 ; and Michael, born in 1798.]

Government House [Plymouth],
Dec. 25th, 1825.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have hitherto been fearful of disturbing your affliction, for I know how deep and how sincere that affliction must have been, and how unlike the feelings which usually attend the death of a Sovereign. I dreaded being importunate where it would be my greatest happiness to be able to afford comfort and consolation. But I have thought of you much and constantly, and the time has now come when I hope I may, without indiscretion, venture to express these feelings, and request a single line when it is not painful to you to write, just to say how you do.

More than this I do not ask, and to this request I will add nothing. It would appear like indifference to your sorrow to advert to any other subject.

Believe me ever, with true and sincere affection,
dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most faithfully,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Dec. 27th, 1825.

In all England you are the one person, my dear lord, who has best understood my sorrow. You speak to me in words that touch me deeply, for you only speak of the immense loss that, in common with a great empire, I, too, have to bear. I thank you both for your sympathy, and for the manner in which it has been expressed. Though I am grateful for the anxiety my friends show about me personally, my heart sometimes revolts at the notion that I can be thought capable of thinking only of my own deep affliction, in the midst of the calamity that has just befallen my country—for this is, in truth, what overwhelms me.

The Emperor Alexander was the best of sovereigns—the most humane, generous, and just of men. During five-and-twenty years of absolute power, he used this power solely as a means of doing good. His memory will be blessed as long as the Russian people exist. I have not over-praised the great man who was my master; I can now only speak of my admiration for the great monarch who is dead. I loved him, I admired him, with all my heart and with all my mind. My sorrow is more poignant than any I have ever before suffered, but my courage is not cast down; the successor of Alexander cannot fail to walk in his footsteps. The details of the Emperor's death, taken from the *Étoile*, are correct. M. de Lieven had a courier from Petersburg, who left the 9th of December; he brings him despatches with a precisely similar account. I have since had a letter from my son, written from the

Imperial Palace. All he adds is, that the Emperor was in a lethargy during the last three days of life, and that he spoke but a very few words, and those at long intervals. His death was very peaceful, and he was fully conscious of his condition. His illness was a fever of the country, aggravated by a chill. Apparently, at first, he had refused to take the necessary remedies.

The Empress, his wife, did not leave him for a single instant, and refused all nourishment during the last days. They are in great anxiety about her state. The deep affliction of the Empress-mother* cannot be described; and the mourning in the capital is universal among all classes. An hour after the sad news was known, the Grand Duke Nicholas took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Constantine. Then followed all the great officers of State, and all the regiments of the Imperial Guard.

I know the present Emperor well, and all I can tell you is, that I consider him a man of the greatest ability, and of a loyal and upright character, with a very warm heart. This opinion I have maintained against all comers; and there are many in England who have heard me do so, when I little dreamt that he was so soon to become my master. Wait a little time, my dear lord, and then tell me if I am mistaken. Meanwhile pray tell no one I eulogize the man who is my Sovereign, for it would seem suspicious to those who do not know me. But you are not of that number, and to you I can speak out my mind.

I wish I could see you, I seem to have a thousand things I want to say; and, in truth, never before has

* The Empress Marie, widow of the Emperor Paul (murdered by his officers in 1801), and mother of Alexander, Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael.

my heart been so overwhelmed. I do not know how to master a great sorrow, and it is so painful to me to display my feelings before indifferent people.

Will you at least be in town for Parliament? We remain here till the end of next week ; for here, at any rate, we are beyond the reach of curious eyes. People want to know if we are going to remain on in England. I believe we shall, but of course this is entirely my personal opinion of the matter. We have as yet heard nothing from the Emperor Constantine. They were awaiting his arrival in Petersburg.

Adieu, my dear lord. This is a very long letter in answer to a very short one. But both the one and the other are what we had each a right to expect on such an occasion. I tell you once again—the few words you wrote me touched me more than volumes could have done. You see my heart, at least, can show its gratitude.

D. LIEVEN.

Government House [Plymouth],

Jan. 5th, 1826.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

To say how much I have been gratified by your letter would not be easy. . . . I felt sure before hand that yours would be no common grief, and the manner in which you describe what you have suffered belongs only to those whose expressions come warm from the heart. I believe all you say of the personal qualities of the Emperor Alexander. I believe, too, that the happiness, as well as the influence and power of Russia, have been greatly improved by his Government. If I stop here and acknowledge with deep regret

that I could not in the same degree subscribe to any commendation of his policy with respect to the other States of Europe, you will ascribe it to that heresy with which I have been too deeply infected, to admit of my hoping, great as that temptation would be, that I can ever hold opinions (I mean political opinions only) that would be more approved by you.

You would not believe me if I expressed myself otherwise in this respect, nor think so well of me as I trust you now do, in spite of this difference, which I trust will be the only one that ever can exist between us. Why is there this difference between us, when I believe our characters to be so well suited to one another in all other respects? Will you laugh at this piece of vanity which has thus escaped me? or will you regret, as I do, that so many years were lost before I found out how much I was formed to love and esteem you?

After this it is unnecessary for me to say that your authority, where principles are not concerned, must have the greatest weight with me. Independently of your capacity to observe and to judge characters, I feel the most perfect reliance on your sincerity. I cannot doubt, therefore, that the opinion that has been circulated throughout Europe, and which has prevailed in this country, respecting the personal character of the Emperor Constantine, is a false one; and with this assurance from you, I give you at once full credit, without waiting for the proofs to which you refer me. But the unfavourable impression which has been created of your new master has owed its origin, in a great degree, to what has been said of him by Russians themselves. I have heard facts related of him that were horrible, but all these I now set down to the

account of malignity or misrepresentation. To this head may probably be referred the report which I see in the newspapers of an abdication in favour of the Grand Duke Nicholas.

Nothing in your letter gave me greater pleasure than your expectation of remaining here. I did not ask the question, not because I did not feel deeply and anxiously interested in it, but from the motive which you have so well understood. Allow me, however, now to say how impatient I shall be to have this hope confirmed, and to beg you to let me know without delay anything which you are at liberty to communicate that may affect your situation.

We have been very gay here lately, charades acted at Saltram and here, and really very good. Lady Morley was, of course, the life and soul of these gaieties, and she and Miss Villiers much the best performers. And now, dear Madame de Lieven, I will release you. If my letter is too long it is your own fault.

Believe me ever, with the sincerest affection,

Yours,

GREY.

[The Czar Alexander I. is reported to have left at his death a sealed packet announcing that his brother Constantine had voluntarily renounced the succession, and that Nicholas was to be the next Czar.

After a three weeks' interregnum, on December 24, Nicholas being proclaimed, a mutiny broke out among some of the Moscow regiments stationed at Petersburg, who declared in favour of the Grand Duke Constantine, and shouted for a 'Constitution.']

To Earl Grey.

London,

Jan. 16th, 1826.

I act conformably with the desire expressed in your last letter, my dear lord, and write to tell you that the

messenger from Petersburg arrived yesterday. He brings us the confirmation of all the news you have seen in the papers, and unfortunately also he confirms the account of the mutiny which has taken place in Petersburg, and which will ever remain a terrible and afflicting page in our history. If it be permitted to note some good as likely to result from this great evil, I should seek consolation in reflecting that this event has given the Emperor Nicholas an opportunity of showing in the very first moments of his reign how great is the moderation and wisdom of his character, and how high are his personal powers.

His conduct has excited general enthusiasm. He only set the lives of his subjects in jeopardy after having tried, during four consecutive hours, by every means of persuasion and kindness, using even religious exhortation, to bring the mutinous troops to reason. An example had to be made under peril of risking the tranquillity of the whole capital. The leaders were arrested; they are for the most part young officers of from eighteen to twenty years old. They had tried to persuade the soldiers that the Grand Duke Constantine was a prisoner of State, confined some versts out of Petersburg. This absurd story turned their heads. As to the officers themselves, it would appear their sole object was to become *heroes* like the other makers of revolution at Naples, Turin, etc.

Perfect tranquillity is now restored in Petersburg. The Emperor shows himself everywhere in the streets and public places, mingling with the people, and going without escort of any sort. This proof of confidence has deeply touched the populace. All the officers and soldiers who took part in the mutiny came in, and of

their own accord surrendered themselves. The most culpable have been shut up in the fortress until the military tribunal shall have given judgment on them. My private letters inform me that the Grand Duke Constantine was expected shortly at Petersburg. He has obstinately refused even the title of Emperor, and what is (between ourselves) perfectly in accordance with his extraordinary character, when he heard that Nicholas had proclaimed him Emperor, he immediately said, and also wrote: 'All this is illegal; Nicholas had not the right to have me proclaimed, and I do not accept the oath of allegiance they have made to me.'

But all this is too long a matter to explain in a letter. If you were with me, I would undertake to give a perfectly satisfactory answer to all the questions which the recent extraordinary events in Russia have given rise to. It is a fact very generally admitted—and one which I think applies in the present case—how extraordinarily difficult it is to get people to believe in the existence of a noble nature. Why do we credit what history teaches in regard to great examples in past ages of devotion to one's country, and then imagine that our contemporaries are so incapable of putting these examples into practice? Surely, to throw doubt on virtue is but to give a proof of one's own incapacity for practising it? However, I am either saying too much or too little, and I repeat I look forward to being able to talk the whole matter over with you.

As you show such kind interest in the subject, I may tell you that the Emperor has reappointed M. de Lieven his Ambassador at your Court.

Adieu, my dear lord. Parliament meets before very long, and so I have reason to flatter myself with the hope

of soon seeing you again. Many messages to Lady Grey, and my sincere regards to yourself. I beg you to understand that in writing to you as freely as I do, I believe myself to be speaking in all confidence, for very different letters do I write to the gossips.

[Howick],

Jan. 27th, 1826.

MY DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I should have thanked you immediately for your very kind letter had I not wished to be able at the same time to say with some certainty when I might hope to have the pleasure of seeing you. I have at last fixed Monday next for setting out from this place, and hope to be in town to dinner on Wednesday. Nothing in your letter gave me so much pleasure as the assurance of your continuing here. With respect to the other part of it, as we shall meet so soon, I will say nothing at present, except that I am always willing to give implicit credit to everything you tell me, and with this disposition, all I ask is—as there must be much which you cannot communicate—that you will tell me nothing which might lead to a different opinion from that which I should form if I knew the whole. I quite agree with you that those who are always ready to suspect bad motives give but a bad evidence of their own characters. But it must be confessed that the birth and education of Princes, exemplified as their almost inevitable effects have been by history, afford in general no unreasonable grounds for distrust. In the present case I see no reason to suspect that the account given of the Grand Duke Constantine's renun-

ciation of his inheritance is not the true one. But it will naturally be asked, why was that measure so anxiously pressed by the late Emperor and his mother? and what were the reasons that made them think his succession dangerous to the tranquillity of the Russian Empire? But these are subjects which may be discussed more freely, if you feel at liberty or inclined to discuss them at all, when we meet.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,
Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

[In June, 1826, Parliament was dissolved, and Lord Grey returned to Howick. Lord Howick stood for Northumberland, where, Lord Grey writes (June 9), the election business was going on well, but that the expenses were enormous. Lord Howick, however, ultimately failed in his election.

September 17, Lord Grey writes from Howick to excuse his long silence, adding that his plans of coming to town depend entirely on Parliament, which is to meet before Christmas for a short Session in order to pass the Indemnity Bill.]

To Earl Grey.

London,

Sept. 22nd, 1826.

I have at last received a proof of your still remembering me, my dear lord, and the words *at last* are all I will say in answer to your long letter of justification. You were wrong to write it. One should justify one's self for having done right, not for having done the contrary. But have you not remarked in your own experience that one likes those to whom one has somewhat to forgive, better even than people who have never given one any occasion for so doing? Pray draw your own conclusions.

I have been very unwell during the last fortnight—a bilious attack and the vapours. I am going to stay at Brighton the time Mr. Canning is to be away,* and from to-morrow shall be the King's guest for some days. The Duke of York is better, but this does not mean that he is other than very ill. The operation† was performed on the 3rd, and they are now making him take strong stimulants; but it remains to be seen if his constitution will stand the treatment.

You will have seen in the papers how the Grand Duke Constantine attended the coronation of his younger brother.‡ He held the Emperor's sword while the ceremony of the anointing was performed. After the Emperor had crowned himself, he turned and embraced his brother, and the Empress-mother came up and gave them both her blessing. They say it was a very touching and curious sight. The Duke of Devonshire has written me a most interesting account of it all. The two brothers always showed themselves together, going about everywhere among the people, and the enthusiasm has been very great among all classes. Such is the conclusion of this drama. No one can talk any longer of *arrière-pensées* on the part of Constantine, for of his own free will he came and acknowledged himself the first subject of the Czar his brother.

The Emperor, on the occasion of the coronation, did my husband the honour of bestowing on him the first Ribbon he granted, together with the title of Prince, and we are the only persons on whom this title

* Mr. Canning had gone to Paris on a visit to the Ambassador, Lord Granville.

† Tapping for dropsy. The Duke died January 5, 1827.

‡ The coronation of Nicholas took place at Moscow September 3. The Duke of Devonshire went as Ambassador Extraordinary for the occasion.

has been conferred. I send you news of all this because you do me the favour of thinking of me once in three months.

Adieu, my dear lord. A thousand kind messages to Lady Grey, and for yourself all you merit at the moment when you receive this letter.

Lambton Castle,
Sept. 24th, 1826.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I received your letter this morning just as I was leaving Howick, and cannot omit the earliest opportunity of offering you my sincere congratulations on the honours which have been given, and still more on the very gratifying manner in which they have been given, to M. de Lieven. Why did you not announce this to me sooner? Could you think because I had not written so soon as I ought to have done, that I should not take the truest interest in anything that could be to you a cause of pleasure? . . .

I have no hope of the Duke of York. I have never yet questioned a medical man who could give me an instance of the recovery of a *man* after the operation of tapping. I remember a case, too, similar to his, on which my feelings were too much alive to allow me to neglect any opportunity of inquiry or information. Poor Fox's disorder, in its commencement and in its progress, seems to me to have been precisely the same, and I much fear the termination will be the same also. I cannot forget the hopes held out after the first operation—from the natural strength of his constitution, from an apparent improvement, and from the satisfac-

tory effect produced by all the medicines given him. Halford* expressed to me the most confident hope that after a second operation (for that a second operation must be resorted to was very soon apparent) he would recover. A second operation was performed, and from that moment he sank.

I am here on my way to pay a visit at Raby Castle, with my daughter and Mr. Bulteel, who proceed from thence to Devonshire. . . .

God bless you, dear Princess, for so I suppose I ought to call you, though it cannot add to the sentiment of affection with which your amiable qualities have inspired me.

Most truly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,

Oct. 23rd, 1826.

I ask your pardon, my dear lord, for having delayed so long in answering your last letter, which contained so many kind congratulations and friendly good wishes. I have done nothing of late but be ill, and, consequently, out of humour with the world.

Brighton no longer works miracles for me as of old. I find myself as unwell here as in London, but notwithstanding this, an ancient love for the one place, and an ancient dislike for the other, make me desire to stay on here. However, this fancy will not hold out against the meeting of Parliament. And, by the way, are you coming up for it? I think you must be, for are you not one of the party who so charitably desire the country to be starved?

* Sir Henry Halford was also the Duke of York's physician.

I have not a word of news to send you. If you read the newspapers, you will know as well as I do that the Persians have been behaving like idiots,* and that we are teaching them not to do so again. As to the Turks, I think they will show more sense. But we know nothing for certain as yet; the decisive news is expected daily. The Duke of Devonshire has completely eclipsed the Duc de Raguse at Moscow.† I was so charmed to hear it. His entertainment was perfectly magnificent. He is to arrive in Paris one of these next days. Mr. Canning leaves that capital to-day. I should much like to know how Lady Jersey got on over there, being so constantly thrown in his company. But she, too, has at last come back. Lady Cowper is amusing herself immensely in Paris; I see it is I alone who do not find pleasure in that gay city.

The Flahaults are here—he for a few days only; she for the whole winter.‡ The weather has been beautiful till now, but to-day it is raining in torrents to make up for lost time.

I am so grieved to hear such a bad account of Lady Grey's health. Would not the climate of London suit her better than that of Howick during the winter season? I will not hear of you going to Devonshire any more.

Adieu, my dear lord. Let me know if you are coming to town.

Yours ever, with sincere friendship,

D. LIEVEN.

* Russia had declared war against Persia September 18 (28 N.S.).

† The Duke of Devonshire gave a magnificent ball, September 20, at Moscow, at the close of the coronation festivities (*Times* of October 20). Marshal Marmont, Duc de Raguse, was the French Ambassador Extraordinary.

‡ Baroness Keith and Nairn married (1817) Comte A. de Flahault de la Billardie.

Howick,

Nov. 12th, 1826.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have been long intending to answer your last letter, from which I was very sorry to find that your health had been suffering. Confirm the hope, which I am willing to indulge, that this fine season has re-established it, and that you have laid in a sufficient stock to encounter the fogs of London at this dismal season, for so it always is there. Here we have a fine sun, clear sky, and pure air, which I wish you could partake ; though, perhaps, the ennui of such a retirement would counteract all these advantages.

I have given up all thoughts of going to town before Christmas, and shall be in no hurry afterwards, unless you can hold out to me some very strong temptation. Politics can afford none ; not even the charitable wish of starving the people, of which you accuse me ; nor that of preventing your having the power to do so, which would be a more just description of my opinions on this subject.* We are now excellent friends, but I have not confidence enough in you to feel sure that circumstances may not arise in which you would not be at all slow to avail yourselves of that power if it was given you.

I have to announce to you the approaching marriage of my daughter Caroline with Captain Barrington, of the navy, a younger son of Lord Barrington. As far as the character, disposition, and manners of my in-

* During 1826 occurred the riots in Lancashire and elsewhere, and the destruction of the power-looms. The rioters had demanded the repeal of the corn laws and radical reform. A quantity of foreign corn (principally Russian), already in bond at the ports, was ultimately released, and in part relieved the distress caused by the drought and bad harvest.

tended son-in-law are concerned, I have every reason to be delighted with this match ; there is no drawback but their poverty, which will be very great.

I congratulate you on your Persian successes, and on your peace with the Turks. I had rather it had been the other way, that you had accommodated matters with Persia, and were engaged in a laudable endeavour to drive these miscreants out of Europe.

Lady Grey continues much the same ; she desires to be remembered to you. Reserve for me a little corner in your friendship—I wish I dared ask more—and believe me,

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,
Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,

Nov. 15th, 1826.

I hasten, my dear lord, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th, and offer you my congratulations on the event you announce to me, for I take a sincere pleasure in this as in all else that concerns you.

I am prolonging my holidays at Brighton in order to recruit my strength for meeting the worries of London life. I go up to town the day after to-morrow, it being an understood thing that I have my liberty once more after Christmas. I am sorry you do not come up for the Parliament. During this short season I should have had such pleasure in seeing you in London, and this is just the time when one can enjoy most comfortably the society of those who are in town.

I am leaving many pleasant friends here—the Flahaults and the William Russells, whom I see every day. I leave, too, a bright sun, and nothing else will make up for this. My health is a little better. I am convinced now one never can die in England, for is not the Duke of York come to life again? Everybody has been made so happy by it. They talk of the King's coming to Brighton before very long.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me, and do not make suppositions that are injurious to me. I like you so well that it never came into my head to think you had forgotten me, and why do not you credit me with similar sentiments in regard to yourself?

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

[In December, 1826, some Portuguese regiments had deserted to the Royalist cause in Spain, and the Spanish Government had subsequently permitted these regiments to make hostile inroads back into Portugal. The Princess-Regent of Portugal applied to England for aid against this hostile aggression from Spain, and Mr. Canning immediately despatched British troops. They anchored in the mouth of the Tagus, but were not required to land.]

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,

Jan. 22nd, 1827.

I have been for a long time deprived of all news of you, my dear lord. Weeks, months, and great events pass, while you are forgetful of me. Show yourself penitent—in other words, write me a letter.

As regards myself, I have chosen a bad moment for writing to you, for the cold almost prevents my holding a pen. Even here we are shut in by ice and snow; so what must it not be in your northern climes?

To warm one's self a little by speaking of the South—what say you to this despatching of troops to Portugal? of the absurdities Spain is committing? of the good conduct France shows? and of Mr. Canning's speeches? What say you of the Duke of Wellington's appointment?*

So long a list of queries gives a measure of the time that has elapsed since we last wrote to one another. Mr. Canning being established at Brighton till the meeting of Parliament, we, too, shall stay here till then. Shall I find you in town when I return? The Flahaults have been absent during the last fortnight, but they are coming back, and their society is a great pleasure to me—she on account of her cleverness and wit, he by reason of his cordial manner which makes him socially such good company. The King, it is said, arrives to-morrow; but his coming has been so often announced, and so often delayed, that I place no credence in the report.

Adieu, my dear lord. Answer my letter, I beg of you, and believe that, whether communicative or silent, I always bear you equal goodwill.

Howick,

Jan. 27th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

It was indeed very good in you to write, when I so little deserved it, for I must acknowledge that I have no better excuse to offer for my long silence than a sort of spell, which has hung over me and given the same cause of complaint to all my correspondents. . . . I have fixed no time for moving, and I probably

* He had succeeded the late Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief.

should decide to remain buried here if I had taken my seat in the new Parliament ; but not having done so, I cannot send my proxy, and I suppose I must give a vote in favour of the Catholics.

Some of the questions you ask me it would be difficult to answer within the limits of a letter. If I had been present, I suppose I should have been carried away, as so many others were, by the brilliancy of Canning's speech.* Reading it in all the calmness of my own room, I find much more to reprehend than to praise. Some things I believe not to be true, and that is the best excuse that can be made for them, for if they were true, they would be disgraceful. The principles of policy announced in it are, in my opinion, unsound ; its boastings unfounded, its threats foolish and imprudent in the highest degree ; and the whole tone and character of it those of a man who thinks only of the success of the moment, and has no proper feeling either for what belongs to his own station, or what is required by the interests of his country. Here is a very free opinion, which it may be imprudent to express so freely ; but my confidence in you is unbounded. As to sending an army to Portugal, before I can answer that question I must know what it is intended they should do there. If the Constitutionalists are able to expel the Insurgents, all may be well ; but if the latter succeed, or the contest continues doubtful, our situation may become a very embarrassing one, and the end, perhaps, not very creditable to us. The whole difficulty and mischief have been produced by our permitting the invasion of Spain. The game was then in our hands, and if we had played it rightly, all this

* Justifying the despatch of the troops to Portugal.

embarrassment would have been avoided, or, at least, we should have engaged in a war, if war had been the result, on much better grounds and with much better chances of success. The conduct of the Spanish Government does not appear to me very absurd for their own purposes; what secret encouragement they may have, you must have much better means of knowing than I have, but it appears impossible that they should not have some. However matters may be settled for the present, there seems too much reason to fear that, sooner or later, a new war will spring out of the state of the Peninsula, and all owing to the original error to which I have adverted. This is now becoming a subject of great personal interest to me, as I have a son in one of the regiments that are gone from Gibraltar to Lisbon. To your last question my answer is easy: it appears to me to have been impossible, with decency, to appoint anybody but the Duke of Wellington to succeed the poor Duke of York.

I cannot conclude without once more thanking you for writing. But in truth you ought not to stand upon the etiquette of receiving an answer to your letters—you who have so much to communicate, from me who have nothing; and you ought to be assured that, whatever cause there may be for my silence, it cannot be that I am for a moment forgetful of you. I see the King is at Brighton, so I suppose you are a good deal at the Pavilion. From the manner in which his health is mentioned in the *Court Circular*, I should suspect it not to be good.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

[In the latter half of February, Lord Liverpool was struck down by apoplexy, and became incapacitated for the duties of office. It was a question whether the King could be induced to confide the Government to Mr. Canning. The high Tories were bitterly against Mr. Canning, and meanwhile the King vainly hoped Lord Liverpool might recover. Weeks passed, Lord Liverpool became worse; and by the end of March it was found necessary to set about appointing his successor.]

Howick,

March 14th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have been duly hoping, perhaps without any right to do so, for a letter from you. Pray send me some news, which you, I believe, are better able to do than anybody. What is to be the result of the snarlings between our cats and dogs in the Government? Are they to go on like cats and dogs, occasionally setting up their bristles at each other, but not daring to come to a direct battle; or will their long-suppressed violence at length explode and produce a separation? In that case, who is to be the Minister? I say—*not* Canning; but this you can tell me, or you must have been so long close to the Pavilion to little purpose. I am not so indiscreet as to ask you to betray real secrets; but there can be no harm in your letting me know your speculations, and you may depend on their being received in the strictest confidence when you enjoy it.

I am at last thinking of moving, and, if Lady Grey is well enough, propose setting out for London in about a fortnight. . . .

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

March 17th, 1827.

I received your letter of the 14th yesterday, my dear lord. I would that I could worthily answer your queries, and justify the honour you pay me in thinking I know something. Such, however, is not the case. If I tell you that on the great subject I know no more than the actors themselves do, I pay my homage to truth, and at the same time shelter my *amour propre* by this ambitious assertion. I will, however, report to you *what is said*, then I will tell you *what I know*, and in the last place, *what I think*.

It is said that the ultra-Tories are in great hopes; that they wish to turn Mr. Canning out and govern of themselves. Lord Lauderdale, it is said, is persuading them that they have all the talents necessary for the business, if only they will put him (Lord Lauderdale) at their head.

I know that the King has as yet spoken to none of his Ministers as to what his wishes may be regarding future arrangements; that the subject is only to be discussed during the Easter holidays; that Mr. Canning is very calm and passive; and that the Duke of Wellington remains unmoved and entirely impartial.

I think that the administration cannot go on without Mr. Canning, and that he will remain as the head or else as the presiding spirit of the Government. And now on the above subjects I have nothing further on my conscience to confess. I, however, would beg you to remember that I do not give my confession to everybody, and so pray keep it all to yourself.

I shall be truly delighted to see you again, and since I take you to be a man of your word, and that you wrote to me on the 14th, I shall expect to see you in London in a fortnight from that date. I therefore invite you to dine with us here on the 28th, and shall look to see you, unless you write to say 'No,' which will disoblige me greatly. My health is far from good, and, in fact, is on a par with the weather.

Adieu, my dear lord. . . . A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
March 20th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

A thousand thanks for your kind and amiable letter, and for your invitation for the 28th, which I am mortified, more than I can express, at not being able to accept. I think I only said I hoped to be able to leave this place in about a fortnight, and that it depended on contingencies of which I was not the master. Had it depended on me, I should by this time have been far advanced on my journey; but Lady Grey has not been out of the house for three months, and she requires some preparation. I cannot, therefore, get away before the end of next week, but beyond that time, as the season is now much improved, I hope my journey will not be delayed. But this will bring my arrival in London to the first week in April, when I look with confidence to the pleasure of seeing you.

Your speculations as to the arrangement of our Ministry will, I think, very likely prove true; though it seemed almost impossible a few days ago, and will

not, in my opinion, be creditable to any of the parties concerned in it. But that does not signify. Meanness, and almost any vice, may be made to fall under the possession of emolument and power.

You may be assured that Lauderdale* has no more thoughts than I have of ever holding, either now or hereafter, any situation in the Government; at his age (sixty-eight), and with a constitution a good deal the worse for wear, it would be the greatest folly. His whole activity is directed to this question respecting the Corn Laws, in his opinions on which, between ourselves, I think him quite right. This will perhaps surprise you after seeing the name of my son† in every division with *les hommes aux principes* in the House of Commons.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most devotedly,

GREY.

[On April 10 the King sent for Mr. Canning with a view of forming a new Administration, all hopes of Lord Liverpool's recovery being at an end. The Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel refused to join him, and their resignations (sent in on the 12th) were followed by those of Lords Eldon, Westmoreland, Bexley, and Bathurst. The date of the following letter is probably the 13th; the month and year are from the docket in the Princess's writing.]

Berkeley Square,

Friday [April 13th (?), 1827].

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have seen nobody this morning except Sir Robert Wilson,‡ and you would not expect any very

* James, eighth Earl of Lauderdale (died in 1839), had been Ambassador in Paris in 1806. He was the intimate friend of Fox, and esteemed a Radical.

† Lord Howick represented Winchelsea between the years 1826 and 1830.

‡ Sir R. Wilson was one of Mr. Canning's supporters in the House of

certain intelligence from him. I really know nothing as to arrangements, for you would at once perceive that what I sent you last night was a joke, perhaps a very bad one. I do not believe that any overture has been made to any part of the Opposition, and I doubt whether there will be, though it seems difficult for Mr. Canning to make up a Ministry without some additional strength, and from what other quarter it is to be got I don't know. He has placed himself in a very extraordinary position, and I shall not be surprised if, after all, those who have for the present resigned become the Ministers. Some of them at least, I think, would not have resigned if they had not expected to get back again soon.

If I hear anything, you may depend on my writing, and I will call on you when I go out.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

[Tuesday, April 17th, 1827].*

Herewith enclosed, my dear lord, is a letter I have just received from a very clever woman.† As it confirms in a remarkable degree an opinion I expressed to you yesterday, I wish to give myself the

Commons, where he represented Southwark. He had commanded the Lusitanian Legion under the Duke of Wellington in Spain in 1808, and in 1812-14 had been British Military correspondent at the head-quarters of the Russian and Allied Armies. For his open disapproval of the course pursued by the King towards Queen Caroline, he was dismissed the army and deprived of his orders. After George IV.'s death he was reinstated.

* Lord Grey's docket.

† The enclosed letter is not preserved.

small triumph of making you read it. But pray send it back to me immediately.

If you could call before four o'clock—between two and three, for instance—you would still find me, before I set out for Richmond. It seems to me we quarrelled yesterday, and I do not wish to have this any longer on my conscience.

Yours ever,

Berkeley Square,

Tuesday [April 17th, 1827].

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Many thanks for sending me the enclosed letter. Nobody thinks more highly than I do of the good sense of the writer; all I can say is that I believe that a more accurate knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, and of the probable tendencies of the present state of affairs, would have produced a considerable alteration in her opinion. A great proportion of the old Opposition may very probably act as she wishes. I am only an individual, and my conduct must be regulated by what I think my own honour and the public interest require.* This surely cannot be censured as a personal and interested view, of which you accused me yesterday with so much severity. I am always grieved when I differ from you, but I cannot be angry; and to show you that I have no such feeling I will call on you before three, and hope to find you more charitably disposed towards me than you were yesterday. The time will come—mind, I now

* That is, not to support Mr. Canning. His reasons for so doing Lord Grey developed in his celebrated speech, attacking Mr. Canning in the House of Lords on May 10 following.

tell you so—when we shall agree better, even on these subjects ; and in the meantime perhaps it would be better to avoid them.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,
Yours most affectionately,
GREY.

Berkeley Square,
*Thursday evening [April 23rd (?), 1827].**

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have just heard that the Ministry is definitely settled, as follows :

Mr. Canning, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the vacant Garter. This is supposed to be done with the special object of conciliating the Duke of Newcastle.

Sir John Leach, Chancellor, with a peerage. His title not yet known, but supposed to be Lord Escote.

Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Robinson, Home ditto, with a peerage.

Mr. Huskisson, Colonial ditto.

The Duke of Buckingham, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Mr. [C. W.] Wynn, Board of Control.

Lord Aberdeen, President of the Council.

Lord Morley, Privy Seal.

Mr. Grant, President of Board of Trade.

Lord Harrowby, [Ambassador in] Paris.

There are still some subordinate arrangements to

* The month and year are from the Princess's docket. The Thursday must have been that preceding April 27, by which date all the offices in the Government were declared filled up.

be made, but with respect to these it is not supposed that there will be any difficulty. You may depend upon this;* but pray keep my secret, as I have it from a very confidential source.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

[London,
April, 1827.†]

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Everything is what is called settled. I should say that the more accurate description is, that everything is settled to be put off. Lord Lansdowne is to have no office till the end of the session, and it is to be announced then that he is to be Secretary of State. Why *then* and not *now* is more than can be comprehended by my very limited understanding.‡

* Mr. Canning's Government, as ultimately constituted, differed considerably from the one here described, and in the following particulars :

Lord Chancellor, Sir J. S. Copley (afterwards Lord Lyndhurst).

Foreign Secretary, Lord Dudley.

Home Secretary, Mr. Sturges Bourne (Lord Lansdowne afterwards took this office).

Colonial Secretary, Mr. Robinson (afterwards Lord Goderich).

Lord High Admiral, the Duke of Clarence.

Commander-in-Chief (vacant).

President of the Council, Earl of Harrowby.

Privy Seal, the Duke of Portland (followed by the Earl of Carlisle).

President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Huskisson.

† From the Princess's docket. The note must have been written during the last days of April, for Parliament reassembled on May 1.

‡ The reason for this was kept a secret, even from the leaders of the Party ('Greville Memoirs,' i., p. 96). Lord Lansdowne had insisted on remodelling the Irish Government on a Catholic basis. The King being adverse to this, it was settled that Lord Lansdowne should not take office (although giving his support to Mr. Canning's Government) till the point could be settled. He ultimately came in as Home Secretary, but without a seat in the Cabinet. The Duke of Devonshire, who had conducted the negotiations between Mr. Canning and the Whigs during the Easter recess, remained in as Lord Chamberlain.

Many details are mentioned, about which I cannot feel much interest, and which would be too long to write.

The Duke of Devonshire is to be Chamberlain, but eventually to resign if the arrangement for bringing in Lord Lansdowne does not take place.

Ever and entirely yours,

GREY.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREEK INSURRECTION.

The London Treaty of July—Ibrahim Pasha in Greece—Death of Mr. Canning—The Russian Fleet in Greek Waters—Arrival of Count Capo d'Istria in England—Objects of his Mission—Lord Grey's Opinion of Mr. Canning's Policy—Russian Influence in Greek Affairs—Russian Successes in Persia—Visit to England of Don Miguel—News of the Battle of Navarino—Lord Grey's Remarks on this Event—His Son Present at the Engagement—Princess Lieven's View of the Consequences of Navarino—Prince Metternich's '*Més-alliance*'—The Duke of Brunswick's Challenge to Count Munster—The Results of Navarino—Fall of M. de Villèle's Administration—Colonel Church's Attack on Scio—Turkish Councils—The Convention of Ackermann declared Null and Void—Austrian Intrigues—Taking of Tabreez by the Russians—George IV.'s Remarks on Navarino—Changes in the Cabinet—Illness of *Lady* Goderich—Resignation of Lord Goderich—Departure of the Ambassador from Constantinople—Don Miguel sets out for Portugal—The Duke of Wellington Premier—Lord Grey's Views of the Late Administration—Don Miguel's Usurpation of the Portuguese Crown—The Blow given to Count Villa Real, Anecdote of M. de la Ferronnays—English Troops in the Tagus.

[On July 6, 1827, England, France, and Russia concluded the Treaty of London. By this treaty Greece was to be tributary to Turkey, but otherwise independent; hostilities were immediately to cease, and if the Sultan failed to accept the mediation of the powers within a month, the latter would recognise the entire independence of Greece. This treaty was Mr. Canning's last conspicuous act.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

July 22nd, 1827.

So you have left London, my dear lord, without my being able to bid you good-bye, but this through no fault of yours. I only came home at half-past two,

just after you had called ; it was only later, too, that I knew of your having been, and so it has fallen out that there have been no last adieux between us. I am, however, tempted almost not to regret this ; it has spared much useless argument. You never did listen to me, and doubtless would not have attended any more to my last words than to those of former occasions—but let us leave the subject.

Well, and what news is there ? You see, I put the question to you as though you were before me. The Duke of Wellington has seen the King ; would you be so good as to tell me what passed between them, for I am curious to know ? Had he been invited to come, or did he go of his own accord ?* Prince Leopold went in and saw the King when the Duke had left him ; he says the King appeared to be in bad humour. I did not venture to answer him, that I could well understand it, and without my possessing any extraordinary perspicacity. Leopold is aged by five years, and is not as amusing as he used to be. Mr. Canning is now established down at Chiswick, and in pretty bad health. London society is in its last agonies. They tell me my Austrian colleague's wife† is taking post and setting out for Germany, for what cause I know not. I shall stay on here at Richmond as long as I can.

Our fleet‡ has not reached its destination, and I am getting impatient with this west wind, which, under all other circumstances, I adore. Write to me, my

* The Duke of Wellington's interview with the King at The Lodge gave rise to many conjectures. According to the Duke of Wellington's 'Correspondence' (New Series, vol. iv., p. 63 *et seq.*), he went there by invitation from the King.

† Princess Esterhazy.

‡ After the signature of the Treaty of London, the Russian fleet had been sent to the coasts of Greece, on account of Ibrahim Pasha's arrival, and actions in those parts. Navarino was the consequence.

dear lord, even though it be but to dispute my opinions. I had rather this by far than silence. Lady Ebrington is better. What a happy thing, and what a miracle it will be, if she can be brought back to life!

Clanwilliam swears by all the gods he never had an idea of getting himself up in his Sunday best; he is going to return to his post.*

Adieu, my dear lord. A thousand kind messages to both Lady Grey and yourself.

D. LIEVEN.

Lyneham,
July 25th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

The pleasure which I received from your letter which arrived this morning will not allow me to let a single post pass without thanking you for it. It was necessary to make up for the disappointment I had felt from not seeing you again before I left London. I turned from your door, I confess, rather aggrieved at not having been admitted, as I called at the hour you had appointed. What more agreeable engagement was it that prevented my just bidding you farewell? which I went to do without the least disposition to dispute; and I can bear to be scolded by you better than by any other person, believing (do I flatter myself too much in that belief?) that though you may disapprove of what I do, you cannot feel any permanent unkindness to me. *Au fond*, perhaps there is less difference between us than there appears to be, and I shall rejoice if, in the interval before we meet again all causes of difference of opinion shall be removed.

I must ask you for news. I have lost my old political

* Ambassador at Berlin.

correspondents, and feel no disposition to cultivate any new ones, so that here I am in perfect ignorance of everything that is going on, except as far as I can collect information from the newspapers. From the lies in these, on both sides, I try to strike a sort of balance, and thus to form something like an opinion, in which being so formed I cannot have much confidence.

The Duke of Wellington's visit to Windsor would naturally excite a good deal of curiosity. I know nothing about it, but if I were to form a guess it would be that it had no political object, and that he went merely as a mark of respect without having been sent for. Having answered your question, let me put one to you. Have you any guess how your treaty got into the *Times*? I think I have. And why was it necessary to bring your fleet into the Mediterranean? Ours I should have thought would have been quite sufficient for any purpose for which a maritime force could be wanted . . .

We came to Lyneham just in time for the last days of the Duke of Clarence. I went to pay my respects to him on board his yacht, and was most graciously received, and afterwards met him and the Duchess at Saltram, where the party was dull enough. He has been very busy in looking into everything, and has pleased people very much by his good-nature and affability.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

August 7th, 1827.

My answer to your letter, my dear lord, has been long in coming to you, but I beg you not to think the worse of me on this account. Your kind thoughts for me, and all you say in your letter, gave me the greatest pleasure.

At the time at which I am now writing, it is probable that Mr. Canning has already passed away. I know you too well, I think, not to feel sure that, despite political differences of opinion, you will feel regret at the life of one so gifted being thus prematurely brought to its close; and I would add (but in this you will not so easily agree with me), of one who was so true-hearted a man. I am too much of a woman not to count the heart for something, even in the composition of a statesman, and he had a good heart, and it was in the right place.

What are the consequences likely to result from this unexpected event? They will be far-reaching, and, I trust, will tend to the happiness of England; for with her prosperity is bound up that of all the other States of Europe. You must not look to me for either news or conjectures. The former I am naturally without knowledge of, and the latter are forbidden me, alike by modesty as by prudence. The only fact that is patent at this moment is that the public is in a great state of agitation. Well, my dear lord, and it is now that I am curious to know what you will do. Forgive me this curiosity; but it is, again, a feminine quality. The Apostolics* will sing a pæan of victory. It would be a droll thing if you were to form part of this chorus.

* The European Cabinets who followed the lead of Metternich.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me, and that frequently, I beg of you. Our correspondence is a real pleasure to me, for I know no one in England with whom I can let myself so easily think aloud as with you. And this is a curious fact to me, for such a feeling of ease is not to be looked for, except between persons whose opinions agree on all points.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

August 17th, 1827.

Well, my dear lord, you have given up writing to me. I sent you a letter on the 7th of this month ; has it, perchance, never reached you ?

I want to hear news of you. I want to know what you think of passing events. It occurs to me that I only in part answered the sole letter you have yet written me from Devonshire ; and further, that among other matters I have a few words to say on the subject of the despatch of our fleet into the waters of the Levant.

As I read it, the treaty stipulates for collective action by the Powers, and hence it is as natural this action should be undertaken by our fleet as by yours. Each of the three Powers sends a quota, and the forces are balanced. Our object, whether acting collectively or individually, is to prevent the few remaining Greeks being exterminated ; we do not go there to make war on each other, which, if I understand you right, is what you fear. Certainly, as towards a person for whom one feels friendship, you generally show far too much distrust in dealing with me.

I thought I had succeeded in somewhat calming down your jealousy of us in regard to Eastern affairs, but apparently you have had another relapse. In sum, my dear lord, our fleet goes there because we wish to act together with the other Powers, body and soul. It is the only way of proving to the Turks that we are none of us joking.

Capo d'Istria* has just arrived in England, and I cannot say how much I regret you do not know him. You have no notion how fully he merits the hatred Metternich bears him. He is a very superior man, both in heart and head; he has a noble intellect, and, in short, is as worthy of your esteem as he is of the hatred shown him by certain others.

I have no fixed plans for this autumn, but it is probable I shall go to Chatsworth in September. What are you going to do?

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me; or do you wish me to believe you dead?—for I only admit such a fact as accounting for your forgetting me.

[Mr. Canning died August 8, and Lord Goderich became Premier. The Duke of Wellington (who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief on the death of the Duke of York, but had resigned April 30, when Mr. Canning became Prime Minister) re-accepted the command when Lord Goderich took office.]

Lyneham,

August 21st, 1827.

MY DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I must have appeared undeserving of all your kindness, which I hope you will, notwithstanding,

* Count Capo d'Istria was a Greek by birth, who for some time had been in the Russian service, and stood high in the esteem of the Emperor Nicholas. In April, 1827, he had been elected President of Greece for a term of seven years, and had left the Russian service to enable him to accept this office.

believe that nobody can value more highly, in having suffered your letter to remain so long without an answer. I have always been intending to write, but visits to Mount Edgecombe and Saltram, or something or other, have always furnished an excuse for my idleness.

You have understood my feelings on Canning's death. I cannot alter the opinion of him which I had formed from long experience and observation, and which recent occurrences had not improved. It would be hypocrisy, therefore, if I were not to acknowledge that, as a public man, the circumstance in his death which I think most to be regretted is, that it took place before his character and conduct were fully developed. But there is something awful and striking in the premature extinction of great talents in the very moment of successful ambition; and for the affliction of his family and friends I feel most sincerely.

You are curious, you say, to know what I shall do. This curiosity it is easy to satisfy. I go from hence to Dawlish on the 27th, where I shall stay a few days; from thence across the country to Cirencester, Middleton, and Wentworth; and from thence to Howick (paying one or two more visits on the way), where I hope to arrive before September 20. There I shall remain until the meeting of Parliament, and if your question relates to what may happen then, I can only say *alors comme alors*.

I do not pretend to develop, through all the confusion of the present moment, in what state things may then present themselves, or what may be required of me. Of one thing only be assured, that you will never see me do anything that is not dictated by the

best view that I can take of what is due to my own character, and best calculated to promote the interests of my country.

I always expected that the Duke of Wellington would be replaced in command of the army. The public service can only be benefited by his reappointment, and I feel quite confident that it has taken place in a manner equally honourable to him and useful to the country. It will afford considerable assistance to the Government, which, from all I can observe, appears to me likely to be stronger than before Mr. Canning's death, though, perhaps, my opinion on the principle on which it is formed may not be more favourable.

The first place to which I can give you any certain direction is Wentworth House, near Rotherham, Yorkshire, where I shall be about the 6th, and where I hope you will let me hear from you—after that, direct to Howick. How I wish you could find leisure and inclination to pay us a visit there ; and not a short one, but one that might afford you the benefit of a long residence in the pure air on the sea-coast, and me the happiness of daily and unrestrained intercourse with a person whom I so sincerely love and admire.

. Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

Cirencester,

Sept. 2nd, 1827.

MY DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Being detained here a day longer than I expected, I cannot employ a part of it better than in thanking you for the very kind letter which I received

just as I was leaving Lyneham, and which I had not before an opportunity of answering. . . .

I will not enter into any discussion as to the time, the manner, or the terms of our interference in favour of the Greeks. It is much too large a subject for a letter. But I will fairly acknowledge that what you say does not satisfy me as to the expediency of a combined naval operation; nor must you consider it as betraying any unjust suspicion of your assurances, or of those which may have been given by your Court, if I further acknowledge that I must view with considerable jealousy any arrangement which may have a tendency to place Greece in a state of dependency on Russia. Do not imagine that I feel any indisposition to the most intimate connection with you; I have always thought it, and I still think it the best for the interests of both countries; but to make it so, both powers must be kept in their proper places, and care be taken to obviate all causes of future difference.

From the course things are now taking, it is not impossible that I may hereafter be compelled to state more publicly my views on this interesting subject. If in doing so I should have the misfortune to express opinions of which you may not approve, be assured that, in the manner at least, I shall be careful to avoid everything that could give you, or those whose feelings you must consult, the slightest cause of reasonable offence.

This morning has brought Lord Bathurst an account of Mr. Herries' appointment* as Chancellor of

* In Mr. Canning's Administration he himself had been Chancellor of the Exchequer. On Lord Goderich becoming Premier, with the support of the Canningites, the office after much discussion was entrusted to Mr. Herries. The latter had been Secretary of the Treasury under Lord Liverpool. For an account

the Exchequer. From the moment the dispute was raised upon this point, I felt confident that it could not terminate otherwise. I, of course, have no communication from anybody. . . .

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most faithfully and entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—What you say of Capo d'Istria, confirmed by all that I have heard of him, makes me regret exceedingly the loss of an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,

[Sept. 4th, 1827].

Your letter of the 2nd, my dear lord, contains much that would require more time than I can at present command, to treat of properly; I must, however, let you know the sincere regrets Count Capo d'Istria feels at not meeting you, and, in truth, I too am very much vexed on his account. Is there no chance of your being able to meet? Pray consider, and let me know if there is not a possibility of it; and if there should be, indicate how, when, and where. I will write to you again before very long, and at greater length.

At this present moment all I have time for is to add the assurances of my friendship, if perchance this assurance is of any value to you.

of this affair, which created much stir at the time, and in which the King's personal regard for Mr. Herries rendered the position the more difficult, see 'Greville Memoirs,' i., p. 110.

Upton,
Sept. 8th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I received your short note the day before I left Middleton. Had it been possible for me to delay my journey, I would have stayed there a day or two longer, in the hope of meeting Count Capo d'Istria. But my progress has been so slow, it was impossible for me again to put off some engagements on the road which have been already once or twice postponed; and my presence at home is so necessary, that I was obliged to come away yesterday. We leave this place to-morrow, and hope to arrive at Wentworth on Monday.

Ever with the most sincere attachment, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most faithfully yours,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Sept. 12th, 1827.

Your letter from Upton, my dear lord, deprives me of all hope of Count Capo d'Istria's meeting you. The chance of his so doing, however, had prevented my fully answering your letter of the 2nd, for it appeared to me useless to undertake a long discussion on paper, when a quarter of an hour's talk between you two would have cleared up the matter far more satisfactorily.

What you say of the undue ascendancy of Russian influence in Greece (that you would so greatly deplore), applies, doubtless, to him; for I cannot conceive how the presence in Greek waters of four Russian men-of-war

can possibly make any English statesman so fearful as you appear to be on this matter. Well, my dear lord, had you and Count Capo d'Istria met, you would have found in him a man of honour, who, without doubt, will never forget the gratitude due for the many favours and the high confidence that has been shown him by the present as well as by the late Emperor; but, before all, you would have recognised in him an ardent patriot who, all his life long, has only had at heart the cause of his country's independence; and further, a man of sufficient intelligence to know that the best means of securing this independence is certainly not the establishment there of the ascendancy of Russia. He came to England to gain the goodwill of your Government in regard to his nomination as President—he came that the world might know him; in short, that it might be recognised he was worthy of the confidence placed in him. He now goes back to Greece to persuade his countrymen to carry out the articles of the treaty. On his return journey, he will everywhere try and enlist sympathy in aid of his unhappy Greeks, so that they may at least be allowed to fulfil the conditions stipulated in the treaty. This is his errand and the object of his journey, and never has a good cause had a better man to advocate it; so noble and honest by nature, backed by so great a power of eloquence and of so commanding an intelligence. To the last, my dear lord, I shall regret that you two never came together. To have known you personally would, in my opinion, have alone repaid him for his journey to England.

You see how highly I rate you; but why should I, at the same time, be pained with the thought which follows, namely, that I discover you to be my adversary

on all the points that I have most at heart? And you are going even to attack the cause of these unhappy Greeks, for whom, in former times, you always expressed to me such sympathy!—and you will do this because we, in conjunction with England, wish to save them! Well, my dear lord, I, for my part, shall consider as personal anything you may say having a tendency to embarrass the fulfilment of the treaty, which, in truth, I deem the sheet-anchor of Greek independence. You have there an avowal on my part, I will not say a menace—and I make it in all sincerity of purpose.

I shall doubtless see you again before the month of February; many events may happen before that date to modify your first impressions, which (allow me to say) have been acquired from a very singular quarter; for, unless I have been misinformed, you were at Cirencester on September 2. Surely you will not allow Lord Bathurst to have had the honour of making a Turk of you? Your whole former life is there to protest that you were ever their opponent.

Adieu, my dear lord; I feel I am somewhat irritated in the matter of your last letter, and, for the first time, I cannot conclude mine with any words of friendship. This is a state of things that is very unnatural between us, and I request you not to let it last.

Doncaster,

Sept. 17th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I opened your letter with my usual impatience, anticipating the pleasure which your letters

have hitherto always given me. How little, then, was I prepared for what I have found in it!

It has happened to me, unfortunately, but too often in the course of a long life, to differ from those whom I loved most in political opinions. But if unfortunate in this respect, I have been most fortunate in another, in having been able to maintain, in spite of these differences, the unbroken intercourse of private affection. Well! You threaten me, and it is to me a severe threat, that if I take the part which I feel it is my duty to take on the affairs of Greece, you will consider it as a personal offence. This, of course, precludes all discussion. I must submit to the penalty if I should be so unfortunate as to incur it; but in my turn I must add, not a threat, but the expression of a resolution equally sincere and equally firm, that if our friendship is broken off on this ground, it never can be renewed. I will not answer your imputation of my having derived my opinions from Lord Bathurst. It is really too absurd for you to believe it yourself. If you do, how little you know me!

I take this to the ball, in the hope that I may be able to deliver it to you there; if not, I shall send it to you early to-morrow. It was my intention to call on you, but I shall now suspend it, till I know whether it will be agreeable to you to see me. I have written this with a degree of pain equal to what I experienced in reading your letter, but to the last moment I must continue to subscribe myself,

Yours most truly and affectionately,

GREY.

Sedgefield,
Sept. 24th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I really was quite unhappy at being obliged to leave Wentworth the very day on which you were to arrive there : I don't know whether you will give me credit for this feeling, but it was most sincere. . . .

If we are to believe the papers, the Turks are determined to resist ; and I must confess that the manner in which this business has been managed gives them a good case, as against the Allied Powers, whose conduct now cannot easily be reconciled with their declarations when they declined interfering, and when their interference would have been more just and more effectual. I am going to dine to-day at Wynyard, but return at night, and proceed to-morrow to Howick. There never was anything like the sensation that the expected arrival of the Duke of Wellington creates. I passed yesterday under triumphal arches prepared for his reception ; and the whole population, high and low, is occupied with the means of doing him honour.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most devotedly,

GREY.

Howick,
Sept. 28th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

On my arrival here I found a letter from the Count Capo d'Istria ; with my answer to which I venture to trouble you, as he does not tell me how to direct to him. It is enclosed in another cover.

I could not promise him, nor can I promise you (though God knows with what difficulty it is that I

refuse you anything), not to express the very serious doubts which I entertain as to the propriety of the course taken by the Allied Powers. But I can promise both you and him, most sincerely, that I will say nothing which shall not be accompanied by the strongest declaration of my earnest desire to promote, by all legitimate means, the independence of Greece.

We arrived here on Tuesday evening, having left behind us all the fêtes preparing for the Duke of Wellington, whose course has been one continued scene of rejoicing. So much for the attempts made, a few months ago, to excite the popular feeling against him. He is expected to come to Alnwick, and I have asked him to come here, but I do not think he will. The Bathursts, who are now at Wynyard, are coming. This time, after the assurances that I gave you, I expect that *you* will not be one of those who will see a political scheme in this visit.

What is the truth of the news from Persia, in which I know that you have more than a national interest, as your brother* is away there? I read with great pleasure the account of the honours conferred on him by the Emperor for his distinguished conduct.

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Oct. 1st, 1827.

It is only here, my dear lord, that I have found it possible to write in answer to your letter of September 17. In the midst of the idle life I led at

* General Benkendorf was second in command under General Paskievitch.

Chatsworth I could find no moment for penning you a few lines. It is a sure rule with me—much occupation excites me to work, and a lazy life makes me the more lazy. . . .

Have you received a letter from Capo d'Istria? He was going to write to you—has he done so? Events are progressing, as you will see, and we shall eventually reach the point you desire. Greece will be free and contented, and Russia will have no greater influence there than England or any other power. You will not want to quarrel about the means when the object you desire has been attained. I keep in mind what you have said to me, and am satisfied. Our wishes are identical—at least on this one subject. I have seen no one as yet in London, and hence have no news to send you.

It appears probable that Don Miguel will pass through England on his way to Portugal. It even seems to me a necessary thing for him to make some short stay here. The King of Spain's resolution to march against the insurgents in Catalonia would be such a fine thing, were it to be taken in the sense in which he announces it, that I do not imagine he can intend carrying it out in this spirit. Will a coward go and fight? Will a despot go and put down the ultra-Conservatives? If so, it is indeed a topsy-turvy world, and a most remarkable instance of agreement between opposites.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me, and I will send you news; but I wish at least to know that I interest you.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

[The insurrection in Catalonia, which broke out during the summer of this year, was instigated by the leaders of the Apostolic party. They proclaimed Ferdinand VII. unfit to reign as being a prince now become infected with constitutional heresies, and they desired to place the crown on the head of his younger brother, Don Carlos. During the course of the present year the health of Isabella, the Princess-Regent of Portugal had become so enfeebled that her eldest brother, Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil (in the name of whose daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, the Princess-Regent was governing), had deemed it advisable to transfer the Regency to his younger brother, Don Miguel, in the room of his sister Isabella. According to the views of the Constitutionalists, however, Don Pedro, in accepting the Brazilian crown, in 1822, and abdicating that of Portugal in favour of his little daughter, Donna Maria, had renounced all right of interference in the government of the latter kingdom; and hence it was argued that he ought not in any way to intervene in the matter of the Regency. Since the revolution in Portugal of 1824 Don Miguel had resided in Vienna.]

To Earl Grey.

London,

Oct. 4th, 1827.

Your letter, my dear lord, and your answer for Count Capo d'Istria, reach me a few hours after I had sent off my last letter to you, and I write to acknowledge them to-day. Thank you for all you say to me; at the bottom of your heart you say you agree with me, and this is all I need, for what your mouth will speak your heart must believe. In warranty for this I see the whole of your career as a public man, and I know the nobility of your character. I therefore feel quite at rest on this point. The Turks still persist in their refusal to grant the Greeks an armistice. The Greeks had given in their acceptance to all the conditions of the treaty; but, alas! it appears that the Egyptian reinforcements for the Turks had already reached Greece. If only there be still some Greeks left to save, what is being done will not be labour lost.

We have no news from our army in Persia ; and between ourselves I must admit this is not to me a good sign. I think the Shah had reason on his side when he sent an officer, bearing a flag of truce, to my brother's camp with the following message—' I have against your Cossacks my apricots ; and against you all the Persian sun.' In point of fact, I fear our army is now being worn out by disease. At least, such is my conjecture, for they write us not a word of news. In spite of it all, however, we shall certainly carry on the war, only fresh reinforcements will be required. I am quite sad at finding myself back again in London ; it is horribly dull, and the weather is detestable. I often drive out and sleep at Richmond, but being obliged to pass my days in this smoky town is a terrible infliction. There is no news as yet from Spain, and I am very curious to see how it will all end. Don Miguel has sent no answer as yet ; I think he is waiting till Metternich shall have told him what to say, and the latter is just at present away at his country place, getting himself married.* Still, I have no doubt we shall see Don Miguel arriving here before long, on his way to Portugal.

Good-bye, my dear lord ; have you still the Bathursts with you ? Have you had the Duke of Wellington yet ? After what you have written to me on this subject, I attach no importance to these visits, and suspect no more than you, I trust, do (after all I have told you) in the matter of the predominant influence Russia is said to exercise over Capo d'Istria.

A thousand friendly and sincere regards,

D. LIEVEN.

* To his second wife, the Baroness Maria-Antoinetta von Leykham.

Howick,
Oct. 9th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have received two very kind and amiable letters from you since I last wrote. It would not be easy for me to express the pleasure they gave me, and yet this is the only return I can make for them.

I received a letter from my son, who has been on the coast of the Morea, witnessing the destructive battles of the Greeks with each other instead of uniting to oppose the common enemy. In one of these, Washington, a young American, who had engaged in their cause, was killed. In such a state of things the landing of the reinforcement from Egypt seems to leave little room for hope. The Bathursts left us this morning. Ultra-Tories as they are, I know few more agreeable people. Their visit passed very pleasantly to us, and I hope to them, and I really parted with them with great regret. They are now at Alnwick, and proceed from thence on their tour to Scotland.

I do not wonder that you complain of London at this season; I hate it at all seasons. But I doubt whether you could enjoy a country life. Could you, for instance, have passed even a week here without ennui, content with rides and drives, and walks and books and music? . . . [though] I am sure if we were within distance that would allow me to hope for the chance of your coming, nothing would do you so much good. Provided always you could get the better of that greatest enemy to health—Ennui.

Ever most truly and devotedly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 23rd, 1827.

I write to you to-day, my dear lord, with no pretext or motive except that of thanking you for your letter of the 9th. I have not the smallest matter of news with which to entertain you.

We are waiting patiently till the Turks recover from their blindness and cease believing in their second prophet—Metternich. I quite agree with you, all the disasters the Greeks are suffering are due to the state of anarchy and the personal enmity each for the other that flourishes among them. It is just for this reason that a leader, who has a head on his shoulders, and has energy and honesty of purpose, is so necessary to the cause; and this is why Capo d'Istria's arrival among them must have a favourable effect. He cannot, however, arrive in Greece before the end of November.

You have good reason in finding the Bathursts agreeable and good company; for the last fifteen years I have known them to be both the one and the other, but with you the acquaintance is of more recent date.

The King has had a slight attack of gout, but is well again now. I pass most of my time at Richmond; my husband only comes out to sleep there. What a nuisance is a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs who loves the town!* We have given up all thoughts of visits to the country. You are so far off, otherwise I would set out on the spot for Howick, and prove to you that I am more appreciative than any of your friends of a life of quiet and uniformity. I should enjoy it even

* Lord Dudley and Ward.

without the society of a man of intelligence such as you are. If ever I am left a widow I shall marry a *curé* who has a country parish. I think I am cut out for that sort of work.

Adieu, my dear lord; I am poverty-stricken in news, but rich in hope that you will no longer be in a position to attack me, even indirectly, on the object of my predilection; further, that what we both desire for Greece will be accomplished before the end of the year, and that there will be no further cause for our quarrelling over the means of its attainment. How I wish once and for all you would adopt the resolution to live in peace and harmony with me. Think it over. I have much good sense, some intelligence, and a great deal of friendship for you.

Howick,

Nov. 4th, 1827.

MY DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have been longer in your debt than I ought to have been for a very kind letter; but though idle and dilatory, which is too much my habit, I have not been the less grateful. We have had the house almost constantly full till within the last week, which has produced me another grandson. I am sure that you will be glad to hear that both my daughter* and her child are going on as well as possible.

I have no information nor political news of any kind except what I can collect from the papers. If I am to believe these, or to form any conclusion from the tone of those which are supposed to belong to the Ministers, things are not going so smoothly between

* Lady Caroline, wife of Captain the Hon. George Barrington, R.N.

your Court and ours, with respect to Greece, as they appeared to do some time ago. This certainly does not very much surprise me. Though you might not have been quite so well satisfied with me at first, I persuade myself that you would have been more so in the end if these matters had been managed according to my view of them. . . .

I have been much amused by figuring you to myself as the wife of a country curate, occupied with the daily details of your humble *ménage*, with your pigs, your sheep, your cows, and your poultry. Nothing is wanting to make such a picture complete but that Metternich should be the other party to it. But the force of *attraction*, which might once have produced this, is at an end. Even the *nouveau Metternich* has disappeared from the scene. To whom will you now transfer your allegiance? I do not think the well-bred Dudley would do. Would Lord Holland—if the King would consent to his having the Foreign Office? Nobody not a Minister could hope to succeed, and excluded for ever from that situation, I dare not aspire to the succession even as a *pis aller*.

Forgive my impertinence, and to show that you do so, write to me very soon and send me some news. I have not seen your name lately in any of the parties at Windsor. Is it come to your turn to find your favour declining? and is it true (as a little bird has lately sung in my ear) that the Esterhazys are now more welcome in that quarter?

Believe me ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Nov. 8th, 1827.

I answer your letter of the 4th, my dear lord, by return of post; in the first place, to assure you that I take your jesting in good part, for I like all jesting that is seasoned with wit, even though it be at my own expense; and, in the second place, to give you some news if I can, or at any rate to set you on the right road if you have lapsed again into error. And in error you are in what you suppose of any misunderstandings that have arisen between our two Courts, for I, who am somewhat difficult to please, ask for nothing better than such relations as at present exist. So take it for a surety that we are the best of possible friends. In a fortnight's time you will have definite news in the matter of affairs in the East, and unless I am much mistaken, the news will be that the treaty has been carried out and peace preserved.

Don Miguel is to arrive here about the 25th. He will be properly indoctrinated and *de-Metternichized*, and then the Ministers will say to him, 'Good-bye; be off with you! Be a passably good King if you only can, for in truth your birth forces us to recognise that a King you have a right to be.' It is said the King is going to bestir himself, and that he will entertain Don Miguel at a State dinner and concert at St. James's Palace. He is to be lodged at Government expense.

So here is France the richer by seventy-six new peers, though their Government is all the poorer in popularity.* I quite approve of strong measures, but

* Immediately preceding the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, this number of new peers was created, all of them persons devoted to M. de Villèle's Government.

then they should be neither aimless nor silly, and this last Ministerial act is both the one and the other. You will note it is not as a diplomatist I am now speaking.

You give me news of the favour Austria enjoys. It is hidden from the world in general, for to my knowledge they have not been near Windsor since the month of August, when we were both there together. You, however, may have little birds for bringing you news better taught than mine are, and favour is not to be gauged by rule. It has been often said that a king is somewhat like a pretty woman, and I now remind you of it because this last is what I no longer am, since in six weeks' time I shall be forty-three. You may count, therefore, on a very annoying constancy on my part, and with this threat I end my letter to you, after adding my most hearty congratulations on your daughter's recovery.

Adieu, my dear lord.

Pray continue to write to me.

[The Sultan had haughtily refused to admit the right of the Powers to interfere between himself and his rebellious Greek subjects, and Ibrahim Pasha, largely reinforced from Egypt, received orders to wage a war of extermination in the Morea. Meanwhile the allied fleets of England, France, and Russia had appeared on the scene to enforce the Treaty of London. The admirals entered the harbour of Navarino, and called upon Ibrahim to cease hostilities. His refusal led to the battle of Navarino, fought October 20, in which the whole Egyptian Fleet was utterly destroyed.]

Howick,

Nov. 16th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Why have you not written to me? It is true that I owed you an answer to a very kind letter, but

when such events were passing as these of which we have lately had an account from Greece, I did not think you would have stood so punctiliously on your right. In short, I expected from you some light on an affair which requires so much, and in which we are all so deeply interested. I confess it has thrown me into consternation. I endeavour to find some justification of our measures, but I am unable to defend them. Even the articles in the Ministerial papers show a consciousness that their case is not sound, and there is an evident desire to throw the responsibility on our commander. I know him well*—a braver or better man does not exist; but I know also the temper and spirit of our sailors too well not to fear from the beginning, if they once came within reach of the Turkish fleet under the circumstances in which they found themselves, that a battle would take place. I look with great apprehension to the consequences. It can hardly be hoped, considering the character of the Turkish Government and people, that in the first instance, at least, they will not be most calamitous. Let me hear—for nobody is so well able to state it—what can be said in justification of this measure, to which my opinion is, at present, very adverse.

I had a son there,† of whose conduct I have received the most flattering accounts. He was in the *Talbot*, a twenty-eight-gun ship, opposed to a Turkish double-bank frigate, which struck to them. In the heat of the action they were fired into by mistake by one of your ships, and he was sent in a boat to the Russian captain to prevent a similar accident from

* Vice-Admiral Sir E. Codrington.

† The Hon. George Grey, born in 1809, afterwards Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

happening again. He was received on going aboard with cheers by the Russian sailors, and with the greatest kindness by the captain, who regretted an accident which the smoke and confusion in such cases often renders unavoidable. His account of the whole business is excellent. I only got his letter this morning, and the feeling it has naturally occasioned must be my excuse for a detail, with which, however, if I had not believed that you take some interest in what concerns me so nearly, I should not have troubled you. What will the *Curé* Metternich say to this? particularly as the Austrian transports appear to have been destroyed. This, I confess, is the fact of the business which I regret the least.

In another month I expect to hear that your army has crossed the Pruth.

How I wish I was near enough to talk over these matters with you! I am afraid we shall differ, but we must not quarrel. I rely on your constancy in all cases, and you may be equally sure of mine.

Ever, dearest Madame de Lieven,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Nov. 19th, 1827.

I have this moment received your letter, my dear lord, and you have good cause for scolding me, for I ought to have written you the news about Navarino, and added my commentaries. Only, Navarino came while I had a cold on the chest and fever, and the utmost I had strength to do was to rejoice. And

happy I frankly am, and that without either the burden of presentiments or reflections of any sort. Navarino is a fine moral fact, and a fine military action. There is to be found herein glory, honour, and humanity ; in short, it has produced all the excellent and generous results one so rarely meets with in the affairs of this lower world—disinterested political action, valour without rivalry, and a Christian nation regenerated. Come, my dear lord, there are here so many causes for congratulation that I cannot believe anyone with a truly generous mind can find evil mingling with the joy. I can easily, too, understand how your feelings have been further stirred by the honour your son has gained in taking part in the victory. With Navarino for a beginning, he makes a good start in his career, and this, I am sure, is what you, too, think.

Your Ministers are awaiting the arrival of news from Constantinople, and will remain anxious until it comes. All this is very comprehensible, but the proof that they have approved the conduct of your admiral lies in the fact that they have not disavowed him. And even more than this, they are sending rewards both to him and to the fleet. Complications may arise, but only as a possibility ; the probability is that the Sultan will submit. Alas ! my dear lord, when one has so much to say on a subject, a letter is a miserable method of talking. The *Curé* received the news of Navarino on the very day of his wedding—November 5. What a *feu-de-joie* to honour the occasion with !

By the way, speaking of him, Madame de Coigny says that ‘the Knight of the Holy Alliance has now finished up with a *mésalliance*.’ And do you know the

very first words I exclaimed on hearing of the Battle of Navarino were, 'Surely it's Metternich who has brought it about!' You yourself would be convinced of the justice of my remark if you only knew, as well as I do, all he has been doing since the beginning of these complications in the East. Up to the moment at which I am writing to you there is not a word of news either from Navarino or from Constantinople, but from the latter place despatches are expected every moment.

I have no fear for our Ambassadors; the Turks are too much afraid of the Russian soldiers, who would cross the Pruth at a bound. Further, good sense leads me to think that the Sultan, who must at last be disabused of the illusions Metternich has made him credit, and no longer putting faith in his promises that the Allied Powers would never dare to do anything because they were none of them embarked frankly in the matter—that he, the Sultan, will now give up his Apostolic counsellors, and agree to carry out the treaty, in order by this to secure his tenure of what remains of the Ottoman Empire. If still he refuses to yield, I should not shed many tears, but I really should prefer the first case, for this would mean peace.

Don Miguel is making them all wait for him. He was still at Vienna on the 10th, but he must certainly arrive here in the first days of December. I will write again as soon as I have any news of interest to send you—and it must come soon.

Adieu, my dear lord. Your letters always afford me the greatest of pleasures. It seems to me we now like each other immensely—what think you?

To Earl Grey.

London,

Nov. 27th, 1827.

As you read the accounts in the newspapers, my dear lord, you may be thinking that I ought to have something further to tell you. Such, however, is not the case, for we have not as yet received any details of the great event. I write to you none the less, fearing lest you should accuse me of neglect. Everything was quiet at Constantinople, and instead of any explosion of rage at the Battle of Navarino, the probabilities tend to show that this event will have peace for its consequences; up to the 5th, at any rate, it was generally believed in Constantinople that the Divan would give in its adhesion to the articles of the treaty. In a few days' time your Government will be in possession of decisive news on this matter, but up to now they have not had any messenger direct from Mr. Stratford Canning.

Don Miguel is to arrive on December 7 at Calais; Lord Mount Charles has been named to be in waiting on him during his stay in London. This will not extend over more than a week; the King is going to receive him at St. James's. Have I written to you since the news came of the taking of Erivân? I do not remember. The taking of the town was a necessary prelude to peace negotiations.* It will also at the same time have a tendency to induce the Turkish Divan to satisfy the Allied Powers, for we shall now be free of our Persian embarrassments.

* Erivân, in Persian Armenia, surrendered to the Russians on October 19. Its fall led to the conclusion of peace with Persia.

What say you of the French elections?*

M. de Villèle would appear to have reckoned without his host in deciding on this measure. It will not, however, prevent his remaining on as Premier, for he wills to stay, and I think a determined will dominates both circumstances and events. None the less, he has committed a vast piece of stupidity in this augmentation of the peerage. They are giving us, I believe, Sir William A'Court as Ambassador at Petersburg,† Frederick Lamb, as you know, goes to Lisbon.

Palmella is trying to remain on here; he has too much wit to take ship in so frail a bark as that which carries the fortunes of the Government in his own country. Meanwhile, Don Miguel tries to make himself out in all things a thorough-going Constitutionalist. Is not the part somewhat suspicious in one who has so recently left Metternich's workshop?

There is a most singular account told of an affair between the King of Hanover and the Duke of Brunswick.‡ The story is a long one, and so I will only narrate the closing scene. You will tell me if you want to have details of preceding events. The last act, however, is this, that the Duke of Brunswick has had a figure made in wood to represent Count Munster, that he practises at this figure with a pistol two hours a day, and that the dummy is in consequence by this

* The elections had resulted in leaving M. de Villèle in a very decided minority in the Chamber, the Royalist-opposition and the Liberal-opposition uniting to form a coalition against the Ministerial candidates.

† Afterwards created Lord Heytesbury.

‡ Count Munster was Minister of Hanover, and as such regulated the affairs of Brunswick, the young Duke of Brunswick, after the death of his father at Quatre Bras (Waterloo), having been left to the guardianship of George IV., as King of Hanover. The young Duke, now come of age, had accused both the King and his Hanoverian Minister of malversation in the Government.

time perfectly riddled with bullets. Further, he has just sent Count Munster a challenge to fight, and the person selected to act as his second was Tattersall.* All I have just narrated I know to be the exact facts of the case. A person† you well know says he will some day hang Munster. So what between the bullets and the cord, the poor man is in a somewhat delicate position.

Adieu, my dear lord. When you write, pray let me have the dates of the letters you have received from me. I will write again in a few days. A thousand sincerest regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Nov. 30th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

The moment that I saw in the papers the account of the arrival of despatches from Constantinople, I made sure of a letter from you, and I have not been disappointed. That dated the 27th reached me yesterday morning, and I have also to thank you for one of the 19th, received a few days before. This I should not have delayed doing so long, had I not waited in daily expectation of hearing something that might enable me to form a better judgment as to the probable consequences of Navarino. The accounts are so far good—better, I think, than could reasonably have been expected.

Having taken time to consider, there seems to be good grounds for hoping that the Turks, with the

* The well-known horse-dealer.

† It was said that the Duke of Clarence had promised Count Munster this fate.

dangers threatening them, on one side from the combined fleets, on the other from your army on the Pruth, may submit to demands which nothing but a consciousness of their weakness could make them endure. We must, however, have further accounts before we can be quite confident as to the result, and these have probably been received at the moment when I am writing, or certainly will be so before this can reach you.

As to the business itself, I agree with you in thinking that it was a '*beau fait militaire*.' Even in this respect, however, it is perhaps a little over-rated, for with six sail of the line and twelve frigates we might reasonably have expected to overcome the maritime force of the whole Ottoman Empire. But it was well done, and effectually done, and I give full credit to the officers and seamen of the united fleets.

Quant au moral, which is another point on which you approve, *il me semble qu'il a été un peu à la Turque*, and its having been employed against Turks does not reconcile me to it. In truth, as at present informed (and I sincerely desire to find grounds for changing this opinion), it appears to me to have been an act of as violent and unjust aggression as ever was committed. Even the Ministers do not seem to be themselves without some misgivings of this sort, as they have sent Sir John Gore for explanations. It would have been as well if this had preceded the grant of honours, which seemed, to all ordinary understandings, to convey a decided expression of their full approbation. But I hear they say that this was not done by *them*, a proof of their weakness greater than even I had suspected.

Success, however, covers everything ; and if the Turks submit, they may think themselves fortunate in being saved from difficulties which a different result would have brought upon them, and which they are not made of stuff to surmount.

I agree in what you say as to the imprudence of M. de Villèle, and there is much truth in your maxim, '*Qu'une volonté déterminé domine les evenemens.*' But where there are resolutions equally determined on opposite sides, we must consider a little the means of enforcing them. The Opposition and the French people seem to have as strong a determination to turn out M. de Villèle, as he has to retain his office, and as his will must depend on that of another—of a King who may change from solicitation or caprice, or who may be terrified at the difficulties surrounding him—I am rather inclined to think that the will of the nation will prevail. It is true that the last is exposed to the dangers of division, of the corruption of those who lead it, etc., etc. ; but, weighing all these considerations in opposite scales, it appears to me that the preponderance is as I have stated.

To apply your maxim nearer home : our Ministers have, no doubt, a determined resolution to keep their seats. Suppose I should have formed one as positive to displace them—on which side would you bet ?

As to Miguel, he will promise, of course, everything that can be required of him, and not the less for coming out of the '*atelier de Metternich.*' But who would trust his promises ? They would not do even for a Parliamentary debate, and our Minister of Foreign Affairs must be a simpleton indeed if he can even pretend to place the smallest dependence on

them. What appears already to be passing at Lisbon shows what we have reason to expect.*

It has been said that, to collect a lady's mind in a letter, you should look at the postscript. Your question, therefore, gave me no small pleasure, though I hardly dare put this favourable interpretation upon it. '*Qu'est ce que j'en pense ?*' That, on one side, I can answer for it, that the feeling exists in the highest degree, and that I should be only too happy if I could be assured that it existed in anything approaching the same degree on the other. But it is time that I should relieve you from this unmerciful letter. Don't let it deter you from writing, as it is impossible to express the pleasure I receive from your letters.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Dec. 1st, 1827.

Although, my dear lord, your Government has had no messenger direct from Constantinople, it is reported that the Turks are still showing stubbornness, or, at any rate, were in that mood on the 6th of November. Appearances were not pacific, but perhaps at the last moment a change for the better will have taken place ; the last moment, however, for this change, unless I am much mistaken, cannot have been later than the even-

* Don Miguel had been proclaimed, at Lisbon, Regent for the administration of the Government conformably with the charter, and guardian of the young Queen Donna Maria. On news of this the enemies of the Constitution, recommencing their operations in the northern provinces of Portugal, had hailed him, not as the Queen's lieutenant, but as 'absolute King,' and seditious movements were the immediate consequence throughout the country.

ing of the 10th, and it is after receiving his information that Stratford Canning will have despatched the messenger. If the Turks commence hostile measures of any kind, our army will cross the Pruth, and I do not imagine the Divan will resist the force of this argument. I am sending you the results of my small lights on these matters, and my even less important conjectures thereon. I shall probably not have the honour of being the first to tell you of the final result of it all, for, whether it be peace or war, it is the newspapers that will be beforehand with me in making the announcement.

On making inquiries about your son who was at the Battle of Navarino, I discover that he is a boy of only thirteen. I am all the more pleased at thinking of the part he has played, and I assure you the cheers our sailors gave him have given me quite as much pleasure as they can have given him.

Matters in France go on from bad to worse for the Ministry, and I know not how they will manage to keep in. As, however, I take but a very moderate interest in their fate, I am not made anxious by these events. They say M. de Polignac is struggling to be taken into the Government, and pretends he could manage the affairs of France admirably. Lucky France!

The King of Spain is hanging people right and left, seizing on both his loyal and disloyal subjects, and striking, without distinction of persons, like Destiny.* Providence really is somewhat unjust in letting such a man live on in the world. . . . Don Miguel only arrives

* After their defeat in Catalonia, many of the Carlists submitted on the faith of the amnesty granted them by Ferdinand VII. in September at Tarragona. A few weeks later, however, the King issued orders for shooting or hanging all the insurgents who had fallen into his power.

the 15th, so here is another delay of a week for which no reason is given. It is doubtless a little piece of malice on M. de Metternich's part, and it succeeds admirably, for everybody is put out by it. There will be no Christmas holidays. How I should have liked spending them with you ! But, then, how can one compass 300 miles in winter, with one's back to the sun all the way, too ! and such a poor English sun at best !

Good-bye, my dear lord. Pray write to me ; you know well how much pleasure your letters give me.

D. LIEVEN.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 3rd, 1827.

The latest news from Constantinople, my dear lord, that we have received, comes down to the evening of the 10th of November, and it reaches us through the Austrian messenger. Up to the 8th, everything seemed still to tend towards peace. On that day the Divan received information of an attempt made by Church, seconded by Lord Cochrane, to take the island of Scio, in which action, as the Divan believed, he had been *protected* by the allied fleets.* On hearing this news the Sultan burst into a fit of the most frantic passion. Our Ambassadors were informed that all relations with them were broken off ; an embargo was laid on all ships entering the Black Sea, and an edict was immediately to be promulgated calling all Mussulmans to arms. Coupled, however, with these hostile

* In April, 1827, Colonel Church, an officer in the English service, had been appointed by the Greek Government to the command of their land forces. Lord Cochrane was at about the same period named Commander-in-Chief of the Greek fleet.

demonstrations, the Government of the Porte declared they were still ready to treat, but through the intervention of Austria, so here is the solution of the enigma. Metternich wishes to be master of the situation. But fools will they be who let themselves be gulled by this new intrigue.

I trust your Government may not be in this case ; I can answer for it that ours is not to be gulled. The Ambassadors were all preparing to leave, and Stratford Canning was about to send off a messenger with the news of what had happened—if, indeed, the Turks would let his messenger through. With all these events going forward, the public mind in Constantinople was naturally much perturbed. Besides the Divan, which was continuously in session, there were meetings being held at the Mufti's, and these were attended by the Pashas and great Beys. The discussions held there were curious. Those of a timid temperament advised submission to all demands ; others wished to bring the Ministers to trial ; others, again, urged that they should all at least die sword in hand fighting. A certain Hussein Pasha gave vent to the opinion that it only remained either for the Sultan to cut off their heads, or for them to depose him. In all this there is proof of a liberty of speech which I did not imagine existed in Turkey.

Such, my dear lord, is the contents of my budget of news up to the present time of writing to you, and if the newspapers, which I have not yet seen, have given you the same details, I ask your pardon for the repetition. I can offer no conjectures even of what will happen. The only thing that is clear to my eyes is the attempted intrigue of the Austrian Cabinet. They

wish to direct the policy of the Divan, feeling humiliated at having been left out in the cold ; they want at a stroke to revenge themselves, and regain their lost importance. It makes me indignant to think that they can even imagine this likely to be successful. Our armies await the order to march, to-day, as they have awaited it for the last six years. No, my dear lord, in truth you cannot now accuse us of being an ambitious Power, or one that provokes distrust—we who have waited patiently in Petersburg for what may be decided upon in London, and who meanwhile keep idle the mightiest army in Europe, when there is everything being done that can excite us to begin the war. You must know us now for what we are—a loyal, honest people—and treating us as such, there will never be anything to fear on our part.

I have let my pen run on, and have written you a long letter. Two motives have urged me to this : the first is the pleasure I take in writing to you, and the second is the perfect confidence I feel that my letter is read by you alone. I am just setting out for London, and perchance shall hear some fresh news. In that case I will add a few lines. Otherwise content yourself with the present letter for to-day.

Adieu, my dear lord, yours most heartily,

To Earl Grey.

London,

Dec. 4th, 1827.

I received your letter of November 30 yesterday, my dear lord, at the very moment when mine had just been sent to the post. I write to you to-day

merely to acknowledge the receipt of it, and convey you my thanks. I have nothing to add to my budget of yesterday, except the fact we have learnt that the Russian vessels were laid under embargo several days before those of the other Powers, and that the Porte has declared that it now holds the Treaty of Ackerman to be null and void.* This, at least, is a clear statement on their part, and it will, I think, be received as such.

Don Miguel is to arrive in Paris on the 10th, and in London the 16th. I am already, before he comes, tired to death of him.

The present is but a short note.

That it may not seem dry as well, I will add that you are not far wrong in deeming that my affection for you, my dear friend, is very sincere.

Howick,
Dec. 6th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

How can I sufficiently thank you for your letters of the 1st and 3rd, or express all I feel from these proofs of your kindness? . . .

I had already divined *le mot de l'énigme*, and had concluded that the delays and hesitation of the Porte were occasioned by their communications with Austria. The feelings which you express with respect to this are not unnatural, nor without reason. More improbable

* By the *Hatti Shereef*, promulgated November 30, 1827. The Convention of Ackerman between Turkey and Russia had preceded the Treaty of London, signed by England, Russia and France. By this Convention (October, 1826), Moldavia and Wallachia were to rule themselves and be independent of the Porte; Servia was to elect its own prince; Russia was to occupy the fortresses on the east coast of the Black Sea, and Russian ships had the right of entering all Turkish waters.

things have happened than that our Ministers should seek, through Metternich, to escape from the difficulties in which they have involved themselves. It is the ordinary case of those who do not look an inch before them, to be terrified at the consequences of their own measures when they do not turn out exactly as they have wished, and to catch at any chance of relieving themselves from embarrassments which they do not know how to encounter. From the best information I can obtain, the public opinion is decidedly against them; and if they are not more assisted by good fortune than by their own wisdom, the Lord have mercy upon them!

You have been misinformed as to my son's age; he is between eighteen and nineteen, and will have served his time next year, when I hope to get him promoted to the rank of lieutenant. I have a plan for sending my soldier son,* who is still in Portugal, to visit the different armies on the Continent, and as yours is the most worthy of his attention, I shall, if this plan succeeds, apply to you for some letters of recommendation.

I was very much diverted by your account of the mode taken by the Duke of Brunswick to show his resentment against '*le Monstre*.' Though the enmity of princes is, in general, more certainly to be counted on than their favour, it is still liable to change, either from caprice or interest, and Munster may yet hope to escape both the pistol and the cord. I shall be in town before the end of January, and the pleasure of seeing you makes me less unwilling to leave this quiet and comfortable place than I have been for a long time. I

* The Hon. Charles Grey, afterwards major-general in the army, equerry to the Queen, and private secretary to Prince Albert.

hear all sorts of reports are circulated about me. Do not believe anything you hear of my plans of opposition, of my connection with the late Ministers, etc., etc. I am myself alone, unconnected with anybody but the very few who took the same line I did in the last session, remaining in the same position that I then occupied, and determined to pursue what I think right, uninfluenced by fear or favour.

Oh, what a stupid letter! *Mais que voulez-vous du beau fond du Northumberland?* Take it only as a proof of my love and admiration for you, and on that account, the only plea I can offer, excuse its dulness.

God bless you, dear Madame de Lieven.

Ever most affectionately and entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 8th, 1827.

We have just received news, my dear lord, that our war in Persia is at an end. We have entered Tabreez, the city where Abbas Mirza resides, the population having opened the gates to us, and received our troops with acclamations of joy. The populace then began an attack on the Persian authorities, and pillaged the Shah's palace; so we had to intervene to save the palace and the town from the hands of its own inhabitants. The Shah's Prime Minister and son-in-law is our prisoner, and Abbas Mirza had just despatched an officer with a flag of truce to the Russian general to sue for peace. This, I trust, has already been concluded at the time I now write.* So one matter is

* The peace between Russia and Persia was not signed till February of the next year.

now settled ; and the other, I trust, soon will be—and without war being declared. This hope I still cling to, despite the bad accounts received from Constantinople. They would not let your Ambassador send off his messenger when he wrote on November 1, and his despatch came by the Austrian bag.

The accounts you read in the papers of the conditions Turkey makes before renewing cordial relations with the Allied Powers are quite correct : they are to the effect that, in the first place, we must give up all idea of interfering in favour of the Greeks ; that we must pay for the losses inflicted by the Battle of Navarino, and make reparation for the insult there offered to the Turkish flag ! That is all—nothing more ! You can understand that on this basis there is no possible negotiation.

In spite of it all, however, the present situation of the Turks is so desperate that I cannot conceive of their not ultimately submitting. All I can tell you is, that we Russians have the most sincere desire to avoid the last extremity of war. . . . The Emperor heard with regret of the necessity that brought about the Battle of Navarino ; but was moved to enthusiasm by the brave conduct of your Admiral and the English fleet. He has sent Admiral Codrington the Grand Cross of St. George.

Adieu, my dear lord, for I must end. At this moment I receive your letter of the 6th, but have only time to add a thousand thanks for the same.

Howick,

Dec. 12th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have to thank you for your kind letters of the 4th and 8th. Surely you cannot want assurances of the pleasure they give me. . . .

I think with you that there is still a chance that this Turkish business may end without a war ; and I wish it most sincerely, both for the sake of this country and of the world. If I were actuated, as many have most unjustly supposed, only by enmity to the Ministers, my wishes would be the other way ; for I have very little doubt that a war would be fatal to them. I must say that the terms insisted upon by the Turks are to be censured only from the want of power to enforce them. They are just in themselves, but there is nothing more ridiculous than to hold a language which your weakness makes it impossible for you to support. A quick sense of injury, aggravated by insult, may, for a season, predominate over all the considerations of prudence ; but these will present themselves in their turn, and when they come to be enforced by Metternich, who *must* wish to prevent a war, it appears to me that you have reasonable ground for hoping that things may turn out more favourably than present appearances seem to promise. The Duchess of Northumberland, I hear, for I have not seen her lately, has a story that the King had said of Navarino that the actor had deserved a riband, but that the act deserved a halter. As this would not be just unless the actor was clearly divested of all responsibility in the act, it must follow that in his Majesty's opinion the Ministers have deserved the fate which the Duke of Clarence has

promised to Munster. I congratulate you on your triumph in Persia, which must probably have a considerable effect on the prudence of the Porte.

This place can afford nothing to interest you. The weather is beautiful, and our days pass in an unvaried routine of domestic occupations. . . . Preserve for me always the sentiments you kindly express in your last letters, and believe that they must always meet with a warm and sincere return.

Yours entirely,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 13th, 1827.

I am enchanted, my dear lord, at the idea of seeing you again next month, but unless I am much mistaken, the pleasure of plaguing the Government is what really brings you to town; still, whatever the cause may be, I am sincerely rejoiced at your coming, and for the other matter I rely on your good faith and good judgment. In truth, at times I think you allow yourself to listen to fables, and give credence to anything that is told you; but only come and read history in the making of it, and you will change your mind on many points. Yes—we will have long talks together, and provided you promise not to raise your voice and talk louder than I do, we shall end by understanding one another. Only, if it is to be a strife of lung-power, I decline the contest. When you tell me that you may upset the Government, I answer that I think you *could*, but that I am sure you *would* not so do. You are not going to displace those who have ever been your personal and political friends, to replace

them by men whom you have always professed to regard as your political adversaries. It would be absurd to suppose it ; and I for one do not suppose it, since I have no doubts concerning either your head or your heart. Let us, however, leave all this for our *tête-à-têtes*.

I am sending you a copy of the letter which the Emperor has written to Admiral Codrington ; I think it will interest you. There is no further news from Constantinople, and this, doubtless, is more a sign of peace than of war. At any rate, it shows there is a desire to gain time. No messenger has yet arrived from Stratford Canning. Our commerce in the Black Sea is completely stopped, and this state of things cannot be allowed to last. Don Miguel only arrives at the end of the month, if he comes at all. Metternich is getting old, for he repeats himself.

Adieu, my dear lord ; do not be alarmed by the black seal to my letter ; it is only for the Queen of Saxony. I have just been reading over your last letter ; I like especially the phrase ‘ I am myself alone,’ and I hold this justifies me in what I have said above. Pray write to me ; we have still six weeks of correspondence.

I am doing my best to keep to my part of the bargain.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Dec. 18th, 1827.

I know nothing more, my dear lord, than what the newspapers say, but they tell enough to let one

know that some changes are going on in the Cabinet.* *Lady* Goderich, they say, is no longer willing to remain Premier. This is very comprehensible, but who is there to take her place? People say Lord Harrowby or Lord Wellesley, and I know no more than what is said. A piece of gossip that obtains general credence is that the Tories have taken you as their chief, and that you have accepted the title. As you have written telling me to believe nothing I might hear of this kind, I give no credit to the story.

The news from Constantinople comes down to November 24. The embargo had been taken off both vessels and messengers, but nothing more had been done. To-morrow Stratford Canning's messenger is expected to arrive, but he does not bring later information than the above date. I am giving you no great news, my dear lord, to-day, but as events were happening, I thought you might with reason expect to hear from me, even if it were but to say that I knew nothing.

Adieu ; pray write to me. What I have reported from Constantinople presupposes that the three Ambassadors were still there on November 24.

Ever yours,

Howick,
Dec. 20th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

You desire that I should write, and having to thank you for two letters, of the 13th and 18th, arrived

* Lord Goderich had sent in his resignation on December 15, stating as his reason for so doing that the state of *Lady* Goderich's health would no longer allow of his remaining in office. His resignation, however, was withdrawn on the 20th.

since I wrote last, induces me to take up my pen, which otherwise the want of anything to say, except what you must be tired of hearing, would induce me to lay aside.

The resignation of Lord Goderich was a surprise to me, as to the moment, but not as to the fact. I saw enough last year to be satisfied that he could not go on ; but he could not have chosen his time worse. It is like an officer who quits the army on the eve of battle. As to me—believe nothing that you do not hear from me, particularly what comes from my old friends, to whom you suppose me bound by the ties of old connection. They have never ceased circulating false reports and misrepresentations respecting me, from the moment of our separation. This is a sad way of endeavouring to justify one's self ; but it is a very common one with those who are conscious that they have behaved ill, and have no good justification.

The object of the story they are now circulating is obvious enough : it is to impress the King with a belief that I am forming a combination to control his power. Kings are apt enough to be jealous on this point ; but this is too gross—if he takes a moment to reflect—to alarm him. Wellesley ! Harrowby ! *Tout cela est trop vieux. Cependant le premier prêterait au Gouvernement la réputation d'un homme d'état, quoi qu'un peu passé ; mais il aurait l'avantage d'y ajouter la renommée et le pouvoir du Duc de Wellington.*

I cannot understand the delay of advices from Constantinople. One might found on this, with almost equal plausibility, a speculation for war or for peace. I shall therefore wait for the event, and not

risk my credit for political sagacity by a premature conjecture. . . . Pray continue to write me all the news, for I know little more of what is passing, even here, than I see in the papers. It must be acknowledged my new allies treat their leader with little respect or confidence in giving him no account of what is passing. In the meantime I am very glad to be quietly here, and out of the way of all the intrigues that may be going on.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most sincerely and entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Dec. 20th, 1827.

Apparently, my dear lord, I am not as reliable a letter-writer as you have done me the honour of imagining. I must take up to-day the thread of events noted in my last letter, and that with rather the air of a journalist, who fills his pages with gossip one day in order to have the pleasure of contradicting it all the next. This method, however, is not in the least to my taste. As you now know, Lord Goderich, after all, is just as much Premier as he was before I last wrote to you.

Everything is set back in its old place, or, rather, nothing was ever displaced. It must, however, be to the disadvantage of the Government that there has been so much noise made about nothing. I have absolutely no news to send you to-day. The messenger from Stratford Canning, whose arrival was announced, and who has been so long coming, is not yet come.

As there was no further hindrance to his leaving Constantinople, they cannot imagine what has caused the delay.

I am in principle adverse to all dilatoriness, and am above all of this mind under present circumstances. I can, however, understand that M. de Metternich is not of my opinion on this point, and he now is all-powerful at Constantinople. By the way, what say you to the story of the poor Internuncio, whom they belabour with blows, and then raise in rank? and all for one and the same cause. Metternich's cleverness has been at fault here.

Don Miguel is at last coming, and we have to entertain him with not a soul in town—no easy matter forsooth. Adieu, my dear lord.

Yours always truly at heart,

Howick,
Dec. 30th, 1827.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

Your short note of the 20th is the last date at which I have heard from you, and here we are at the 30th, and my impatient expectation of a letter has been daily disappointed. Perhaps I have been unreasonable, and you have expected me to write, which I should have done, but that I had nothing to say after congratulating you on the restoration of *Lady Goderich*; and this I thought might be adjourned till the events, which might be expected, furnished me with something more.

Surely you must know more than is to be collected from the papers, and could explain to me the meaning

of all these delays at Constantinople. I have watched for an account of the departure of the Ambassadors, concluding that it would be the signal for your army to pass the Pruth. Probably both these events have taken place before this time. The war will then begin in good earnest, and who can say how far it will extend, and when it will terminate? Amongst many evils to which I look with apprehension as likely to result from it, perhaps there is not one which individually I dread more, than that in these new complications something may happen to remove you from our Court. Do you give me credit for this feeling, and do you partake in it?

I was surprised the other day by a letter from my Navarino sailor from Naples. He had got leave to go there while his ship was repairing, in a Russian frigate, in the hope of seeing his sister, who had, to his great disappointment, set out a week before. Count Stackelberg* had been so good as to invite him to a ball on the Emperor's fête; but though it was to be the next day, the Russian captain could not be prevailed upon to delay his return to Malta.

Till yesterday we have had the mildest weather possible. We have now a hard frost, which announces real winter. But there is not a cloud in the sky, and it is the sort of weather that suits me. I think of setting out for town about the 20th.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

* Russian Minister at the Court of the Two Sicilies.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Jan. 9th, 1828.

Believe me, my dear lord, my inkstand has served no one since it was last used for your letter ; I have not written a single line to anybody ; I have had no time. The Regent Don Miguel has overwhelmed me. I am more than ill, but still I must write you a few lines. Read the newspapers, and you will know exactly as much as I do. It is very evident a change of Ministry is needed, or a change *in* the Ministry. But whether it be with the Whigs or with the Tories that the Government intend to take up, or whether they will keep on with the sort of coalition they now have, all these are questions no one can answer, or even make a guess at. It is certainly a somewhat extraordinary state of things for the very eve of Parliament. What is quite clear is that without a chief, who is a man with a head on his shoulders, the Administration cannot keep on its legs.

Except the announcement of the fact that the Ambassadors have left Constantinople,* we have no news from Turkey. This fact of itself would seem to call for some action in reply ; but it is hardly from an Administration at its last gasp that any determined policy can be expected. It follows, therefore, that the great events of Europe are all at the mercy of Lady Goderich's headaches. Despite the respect I must pay to every Minister who has the honour of serving the King, I cannot forbear a certain feeling of con-

* On December 8, it being clear that nothing was to be done with the Turks by negotiation, the Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia left Constantinople.

tempt for the individual who at present has the name of Premier.

When do you arrive in town, my dear lord? It seems to me the 20th was the date named. Don Miguel is of a mild cast of countenance, and has a sweet smile, but at times he has fits of passionate gesticulation, amounting almost to fury in their intensity, which lead one to believe in direful possibilities. The moments of passion, however, only occur at long intervals. The first impression he makes is much in his favour, and he has become very popular, both in society and with the outside public. He leaves Palmella here. Villa Real is to be War Minister, and Quereiro, who at the present moment is Minister in Petersburg, is to have the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The Duc de Cadoval is to be President of the Council. In France matters have come to a crisis quicker than has been the case here. Villèle's fall is a matter of general rejoicing; they will, however, have some difficulty in finding anybody, with so good a head for business as he had, to set in his place.

And now good-bye, my dear lord, for I am literally tired to death. Write me what you think of all that is going on. The only amusing point to me in the whole, is the way in which the politicians are all so agitated and hopeful, because, as the chances are perfectly even, each thinks that he himself must be the man predestined to rule the State. For those who like novelties in politics, there has certainly been novelty enough during the past year.

My thoughts turn to you in the midst of it all.

[On January 8, Lord Goderich went down to Windsor and definitely resigned. After some delay the Duke of Wellington accepted office.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Jan. 14th, 1828.

Your London correspondents (such as Mr. Lambton and others) must, I imagine, my dear lord, have kept you so well posted up in the events of the last few days that any letters from me would have been of a superfluity, especially as I knew neither more nor less than they did. The essential fact, of some change in the Administration, and of the Duke of Wellington's having been commissioned to carry it out, is the only thing authentically known, for all the rest has remained a secret. To chronicle conjectures would have filled a folio volume. I, therefore, did not write to you. All I have to communicate to-day is mere matter of probability. It appears that Lord Lansdowne retires, that Mr. Peel comes in, and that the Duke of Wellington is trying to get both Mr. Huskisson and Lord Dudley to remain in the Cabinet. This, at least, is what I conclude from external appearances. But what say you to it all? for really I cannot go on eternally talking all by myself. You must send me a letter in answer. Though, indeed, I should have liked the answer better by word of mouth. I expect you at latest by next week, but pray write me something before then.

The King is still ill of his gout and his Ministry; and the two are enough and too much. I thank Heaven daily for Don Miguel's departure. One of the stupidest acts of my life has been fatiguing myself so much about a place like Portugal, that can never by

any possibility have any manner of interest for me. I take interest in nothing that has not—for me—a definite object. If all the rest of the world would only act in accordance with this rule, life would certainly be very much simplified.

Adieu, my dear lord ; a letter, if you please, with your ideas upon current events, for these, at least, interest me, although they so rarely coincide with my own.

Yours ever,

Howick,
Jan. 16th, 1828.

MY DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

The long interval which passed without my hearing from you prevented my writing. . . . You ask for my ideas. It would be difficult to comply with your request, even if I had leisure to collect and to arrange them. At present all I can say is that I am in as complete a bother as poor Lord Goderich seems to have been, ever since his evil star induced him to place himself in a situation for which he was totally unfit. You will now, I think, admit that I saw more clearly than you did the character, and consequences likely to result from it, of the late Administration. It has been constantly falling from one act of weakness to another, and is now, after becoming ridiculous and contemptible, fallen to pieces from the defects of its own composition. The same thing would have happened even if Mr. Canning had lived, only somewhat differently, perhaps, in the time and circumstances. It was the inevitable fate of a fabric composed of such weak and discordant materials. What is to succeed I do not pretend to

guess. Upon the whole Mr. Peel seems to me to have the fairest prospect. Huskisson will, perhaps, remain. As to Lord Dudley, why should they wish to have him, or how are those who loudly condemn the battle of Navarino, and the Treaty of July 6, to unite with the Minister who signed it?

Esterhazy, I hear, is mad with joy, and running about the town like a wild cat, which shows, at least, what he expects; which will not, I think, be quite congenial to the views and wishes *de vous autres*. He wrote some time ago to Paris that the old Ministers were certainly to come in again as they went out.

We set out early to-morrow, and hope to reach Woburn Abbey on Sunday, where I shall be most happy to hear from you if you are not, as I have lately begun to suspect, sick of me as a correspondent.

I really have not another moment.

Ever most devotedly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Sunday, Jan. 20th, 1828.

I spent my morning yesterday in the country, which prevented my writing to you, my dear lord, and I take up my pen to-day (although there be no post), for I have country projects again for to-morrow. The weather is delicious, and at Richmond there are neither fogs nor politics. You will imagine that I am not highly delighted at seeing Lord Ellenborough,* a rabid Turk, in the Ministry. However, if only we have frank dealing,

* Privy Seal in the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet.

matters will arrange themselves. It is the half-friends who are so difficult to deal with, not those who are openly our enemies.

I perfectly allow that you have predicted coming events most exactly ; but is all the merit of this prevision your very own ? Do you not think you have yourself somewhat contributed to bring about the present state of things ? Answer me, and on your conscience. What you say of the rejoicings of the '*Wild Cat*' is perfectly true.

But when are you coming to town, my dear lord ? It seems to me the spectacle is sufficiently diverting to be worth coming up to see it, and, as you are so near, why not come ? From my drawing-room I can see that the windows of your house are being opened, and this is a good sign.*

Adieu, my dear lord. If you do not come in to town pray write again, for, despite what you say to me, nothing pleases me more than your letters, and the knowledge that you are thinking of me.

D. LIEVEN.

Woburn Abbey,
Jan. 25th, 1828.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I received your letter on my arrival here last night. . . .

I certainly can, with my hand on my heart, and with the most sincere conviction, say that I had nothing to do with the breaking up of the last Administration. It

* The Russian Embassy was at Ashburnham House, at the corner of Dover Street and Hill Street. Lord Grey lived at No. 48, Berkeley Square.

seems to me that you might just as reasonably impute to me the dismissal of M. de Villèle, or M. de Nesselrode. What have I done to produce this effect? I made a statement last year in Parliament* of the grounds on which I felt myself compelled to withhold my confidence from the new Ministers. Since that time I have literally stood still. I have, literally speaking, had no political communication of any kind, except with one or two of my own personal friends, for even you, I suppose, will now believe that my visits to and from Lord Bathurst had no political object; and, after having been twice before on the point of dissolution, Parliament not sitting, no Opposition being in activity, with nothing to thwart their views or their measures but their own internal dissensions, the Government has fallen to pieces, merely from the effect of its own want of all the principles of solidity and cohesion. It is true I had foreseen all this, had forewarned those who committed, I thought, a fatal error in joining Mr. Canning's Government, of the certain result of their measures, but that I contributed to it in the slightest degree, I positively deny.

I wish personally well to the Duke of Wellington, and I should be glad to see a Government established by him that might rescue us from all the disgrace of the last eight months, but I do not see my way distinctly through all this chaos of conflicting elements, and I shall remain as I was.

I have not yet fixed my day for going to town, but it will probably be either Saturday or Monday. I am impatient to see you, but I wish to keep clear, as far as

* Lord Grey's celebrated speech in the House of Lords in May, 1827, condemning the policy of Mr. Canning and the Coalition Government.

I can, even of the possibility of furnishing matter for false reports, till the new arrangements are finally settled.

Ever most entirely yours,
GREY.

[Lord Grey during the last days of January came in to town and then returned for a few days again to Woburn Abbey, coming up to London finally in the early part of February.

The Regent Don Miguel landed at Lisbon February 22, and proceeded a few days later to swear to the Constitution granted by Pedro I. of Brazil in the name of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal. The English troops sent out (Dec., 1826) by Mr. Canning were now ordered home by the Duke of Wellington, and the Regent deemed the opportunity propitious for beginning to break his engagements. He usurped the crown, annulled the Constitution, and imprisoned all opponents he could seize. Sir F. Lamb, the English Minister at Lisbon, took on himself at this juncture to detain the English troops, and sent back to London a large sum of money—a loan Don Miguel had induced M. Rothschild to advance him.]

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
[April] 5th, 1828.

Well, my dear lord, I am a long way from London, and far from your thoughts too, apparently. You have not written me a single line yet. You have everything to tell me, and I nothing to tell you. The sea is covered with fog, the streets ditto with dust; an icy wind is blowing—such is the news from this charming Brighton. Pay me back with news of yourself, and of politics. We stay here some days longer, for my husband has nothing to do with the Ministry, and therefore takes his ease and courts repose.

A thousand kindest remembrances.

D. LIEVEN.

Berkeley Square,
April 7th, 1828.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

You ought not to accuse me of forgetting you. You must know that to be impossible. If I have anything to reproach myself with, it is thinking of you too much. But I have not written because I had not a word of news or politics to send you ; and you can feel an interest in nothing else.

The town seems quite empty. I have seen very few people out of my family, and none that could give me any information of what is going on. I suppose that Ministers have subjects that press on their attention, as I see in the papers that frequent Cabinets are held. The only symptoms I have observed of what may be passing there, is that their partisans talk with greater hope of peace. The armistice granted to the Greeks, the denial that it was ever intended to stop the commerce of the Black Sea, and the general disposition manifested by the Porte to give way, afford, they say, satisfactory grounds for believing that, 'if you are not unreasonable, peace may be preserved.'

The private letters from Lisbon confirm all that is said in the papers of the proceedings of Don Miguel. Our troops are expected home immediately, the ships of war remaining in the Tagus for a time, and the marines occupying Fort St. Julian, etc. From what appears of the disposition of the army, and the known opinions of the middle classes of society, with a portion even of the nobles, I should think there must have been the means of acting against this monster with some prospect of success, if the leaders of the Constitutionalists had not run away. At all events, I should

have thought failure in such an attempt better than a cowardly flight. I wonder whether it is true that Don Miguel gave Villa Real* a slap in the face when he stooped to kiss his hand. Instant death, whatever might have been the consequence to himself, should have been the return for such an outrage.

Of our domestic I know as little as of our foreign politics. There seems to be a perfect calm as to everything. The Corn Bill, I should think, would pass without much difficulty.

The country gentlemen, I hear, are in general satisfied with the Duke of Wellington's† triumph over Huskisson, though there may be some grumblers among them, and corn is so cheap that there is not likely to be any public feeling to encourage those who may be disposed to excite the people against the Government.

God bless you, dear Madame de Lieven, and believe me ever

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,

April 9th, 1828.

I have nothing to tell you, my dear lord, but desire none the less to thank you for your letter, and beg another of you; for letters I love dearly, and yours more than all the rest. First, however, in the matter of the blow given to Villa Real: I am perfectly

* Recently appointed by Don Miguel Minister of War and, *ad interim*, of Foreign Affairs. He was a member of the Constitutionalist party.

† Mr. Huskisson (Colonial and War Secretary) supported the transfer of the franchise from East Retford to Birmingham, a bill which the Government opposed. Mr. Huskisson resigned, and was followed by Lords Palmerston, Dudley, Grant, Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne), and other members of the 'Canningite' party.

of your opinion as to the consequences that ought to have ensued. The incident reminds me of what happened to M. de la Ferronnays (at present Minister of Foreign Affairs in France), and which was at the time deemed greatly to his credit. In the year 1818 he had a somewhat lively discussion with the Duc de Berri, whose temper so much got the better of him, that he was advancing on La Ferronnays with his arm raised to strike, when the latter called out, 'Stop, sir! or you are a dead man.' The Duc de Berry recollected himself.

I believe our peace with Persia has been signed since February 9/21.* As to our affairs with the Turks, anyone would be foolish indeed to imagine matters are at all changed by this pretended offer of an armistice to the Greeks. It is neither more nor less than an offer to pardon them, provided they submit and remain slaves for evermore. And then, further, news of the Turkish proposal for this ludicrous act of clemency reaches us through a more than suspicious channel, namely, that of Austria. It is to my mind nothing but a bad joke, and only those who are willing dupes will credit it. We Russians shall certainly not be of that number.

My husband and I think we shall stay on some days more at Brighton. A note in answer to this would still be sure to find me here, and would give me very great pleasure. Adieu, my dear lord. I walk, eat, and sleep, and such is my only budget of news, and this hardly affords me material for a letter.

A thousand sincere regards.

D. LIEVEN.

* The Treaty of Turkmanchai was signed on February 28. Persia gave up Erivan and Nakhichevan, and the Araxes became the southern boundary of Russia.

Berkeley Square,
April 10th, 1828.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I have not a word of news to send you ; but you express a wish to hear from me, and as your wishes are commands, I must write. With the exception of a play, or a concert, my life is as monotonous, and affords as little matter for a letter, as yours. Last night I was at Devonshire House, where the attraction of the evening was Madame Sontag. I was disappointed in her beauty, but charmed with her singing. Her voice is clear, sweet, and flexible, her execution perfect ; and though it is the fashion to say so, particularly by those who will not allow that there is a singer in the world except Pasta, I do not think her at all wanting in feeling and expression. The only doubt is whether many of the passages, which are beautiful in a room, will be sufficiently heard at the theatre.

I have a letter this morning from Portsmouth, which only says that a schooner had arrived there in ten days from Lisbon. Our troops were expected to embark on the 2nd, leaving the *Spartiale* and the *Pyramus* in the Tagus, with the marines, as I before told you, occupying the Fort of St. Julian.

Yesterday and to-day the weather has changed much for the better, but it is showery and uncertain. What attractions can Brighton have at such a season ? Pray let me hear that you are coming soon.

Ever, dear Madame de Lieven,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIAN WAR WITH TURKEY.

Almack's—Portuguese Affairs—Reduction of Hirsova and Kustenji—Mr. O'Connell in Ireland—Lord Holland's Speech—Quarrel between the Duke of Clarence and Sir G. Cockburn—Russian Advance on Shumla—French Troops sent to the Morea to oppose Ibrahim Pasha—Lord Strangford appointed to Rio Janeiro—The Fez substituted for the Turban—The Marquise de Loulé—Donna Maria coming to Europe—Prince Leopold—Mr. Peel and the Catholic Question—The King's Speech, and the Russians as Belligerents in the Mediterranean—Austria Arming—Irish Affairs—Princess Lieven and the Duke of Wellington—The King of Sweden and Prince Gustavus—Report of the Duke of Clarence's Resignation of the Post of Lord High Admiral—Don Miguel and King Ferdinand—The News from Bazarjik—Sweden and the Netherlands—Attempts on Terceira and Madeira—Lord Grey's Opinion of the Government—Don Miguel's Cruelties—The Duke of Sussex—News from before Shumla—Changes at the Admiralty—The Duc de Richelieu—Lord Tankerville—Death of Count Constantine Benkendorf—Arrival of Donna Maria at Falmouth—Quarrel between the French and Russian Admirals at Malta—The Emperor before Varna—The Russian Blockade of the Dardanelles—Causes of Russian Want of Success—Donna Maria *Queen or Princess?*—'The Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo'—The New Privy Seal—Lord Grey and the Government—Donna Maria and Don Miguel—The King's Illness—Conversation with the Duke of Wellington—Lord Aberdeen and the Russian Blockade of the Dardanelles—The Court of Vienna and the Queen Donna Maria; personal Appearance of the Young Queen—The Duke of Sussex—Belligerent Rights of Russia in the Mediterranean.

[On April 26, Russia declared war against Turkey, and May 20 the Czar took the field. June 19 Ibrail (Brahilow) on the lower Danube capitulated, followed on the 23rd by the surrender of Anapa, in Circassia. By the 20th of July, the Russian troops had occupied the heights round Shumla.

At the Clare election, on the 5th July, Mr. O'Connell was returned to Parliament by a large majority. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Fitzgerald, his opponent, had represented that county for many years,

and was at this time Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Trade in the Duke of Wellington's Administration. Mr. O'Connell, being a Catholic, was unable to take his seat.]

To Earl Grey.

London,

July 15th, 1828.

I can find no time to write to you, my dear lord, except here at Almack's, and that in the midst of all the gossiping you know so well, and of that, too, of which you happily know nothing. So if I talk rubbish you must set it down to the credit of my colleagues, the other patronesses.

As you will have seen, the affair in Portugal is over.* The soldiers would not fight, and the officers could not do it all by themselves. Lamb has come back, and Europe has left Don Miguel out in the cold. It will not, however, be for long, and they say your Government are going to send him Lord Strangford. But why was so much done in the past, if it was all so soon to be matter for repentance?

As to the East, we shall have a pretty business with the Turks at Shumla; and very probably at the very moment I am writing to you there is fighting going on there. Nesselrode, dating from Karasou, June 15/27, writes that the Turks already had 40,000 men at Shumla, and that reinforcements were arriving. Hirsova and Kustenji have been reduced. It was the Duke of Wellington's regiment that took the latter place—so here is glory for him on all hands! Will he, however, be gratified by glory gained at the expense

* Early in July the Constitutionalists had been compelled to abandon Oporto, and had many of them retreated over the Spanish frontier.

of the Turks? I hardly think so, and I must admit the mischance diverts me somewhat.

They say Mr. Fitzgerald's account of Ireland gives the Ministers food for the gravest reflection. His life was at the mercy of a sign from O'Connell, who is omnipotent with the Irish populace. You can imagine how the Duke of Cumberland declaims on this point.

Will you have a ticket for Almack's this evening? for it is only 'tickets' I hear talked of all round me, and really, my dear lord, I do not know how to go on with my letter. Twenty times a day do I regret your being gone, and above all I regret it at the hour of two in the afternoon, when my chicken comes on the table. I have, however, one small consolation, and this I must confide to you. They say Parliament is to meet again in the month of October to discuss the state of Ireland. I am rejoiced at anything that will bring you to London, otherwise I am sufficiently English to desire no further embarrassments for the Government.

And now good-bye, my dear lord, for you must really give place to 'vouchers' and 'single tickets.'

Sedgefield,
July 19th, 1828.

Many thanks, dearest Princess, for your very kind letter. . . .

We had most dreadful weather for our journey. It never ceased raining, and the state of the country, owing to the floods, is not to be described; the loss both of hay and of corn is ruinous. If your armies meet with the same weather on the banks of the

Danube their situation will be a very painful one, and their progress must be impeded. This appears to me to be the best, perhaps the only remaining, chance for the Turks, though if they have so strong a force as you describe at Shumla, that position will not, probably, be forced without a severe loss.

You were delighted of course with Lord Holland's speech* and motion. I could approve of neither, and I was very glad I was absent, as I could not have avoided expressing my dissent, and it would have been painful to me to find myself placed in anything like opposition to him. For his own objects the proceeding appears to me to have been most injudicious, and its result, I have no doubt, will be very unfavourable to him in the public opinion, and the contrary to the Administration which he shows so strong a disposition to oppose.

I go to Howick on Tuesday, when I hope it will not be long before I again hear from you. . . .

Believe me ever, dearest princess,

Yours most entirely,

G.

P.S.—I say nothing of Portugal. I am rather grieved than disappointed at the result, never having had much hope of anything better.

To Earl Grey.

London,

July 23rd, 1828.

I have received your letter from Sedgefield, my dear lord, and thank you for all the friendship and

* July 16, 1828, Lord Holland brought forward a motion asking for information on affairs in the East. 'It was not,' he said, 'a motion of censure or even of mistrust.'

kindly recollection of me expressed therein ; further, I am not surprised at the way you contradict all my opinions. Because Lord Holland's speech delights me, it displeases you ; that is according to rule—it is the effect of our long habit of friendship. However, do not let us quarrel now we are so far apart. I resume my business of chronicler.

You will have read our two last bulletins from the seat of war relating to the taking of Anapa in Asia, and of Tultcha, Mangali, and Kousgoun in European Turkey ; further, the report of the stores of ammunition which this first incident in the campaign has brought us. As I think I have already told you, we expect to meet some formidable resistance at Shumla. Probably Bazarjik will give us much trouble also. The troops were all in good health, but the heat was beginning to be excessive. We have no news whatever from Constantinople. I very much doubt there can be anything to be said there to the favour of the Turks, for otherwise Metternich would have taken care the general public should be well instructed in the matter.

I have seen Palmella ; the resistance at Oporto was badly organized, and the news that England had recognised the blockade* put the finishing stroke on it all and quashed the affair. You will, by the way, have seen that France, instead of recognising the blockade as you have done, has sent ships of war to the Portuguese coast to protect French commerce.

The Comte de la Ferronnays has gone to Carlsbad on account of the miserable state of his health. M. de

* Don Miguel, finding the Constitutionalists did not advance against him, had declared Oporto to be in a state of blockade ; and the English Government, though it did not recognise Don Miguel, had acknowledged the blockade.

Rayneval takes his place *ad interim*. He is to occupy his seat, too, in the Council. He is a man of much talent, and was of old a Bonapartist. I knew him at Petersburg when he was there under M. de Caulaincourt.* I hear that your Ministers are somewhat anxious about affairs in Ireland. I hear, too, that there has been a skirmish between the Duke of Clarence and Sir George Cockburn;† that the Duke of Wellington and the King both took part in the business. I, however, only know of it all vaguely, and perhaps you are better informed as to details. Lord Melbourne is dead, and so I lose Lady Cowper's society, for she has gone down to Panshanger.‡

I have now reverted to my old life: I dine and sleep at Richmond, and come up to London for a few hours every morning. My husband is, as usual, full of business, and I equally full of curiosity. Good-bye, my dear lord; keep to the habit of answering my letters, and I will give you occasion so to do, once a week, as I promised.

Do not let us lapse into forgetfulness each of the other, for, despite our quarrels, it would be a pity.

D. LIEVEN.

* M. de la Ferronnays was Minister of Foreign Affairs. He did not recover his health, and his subsequent resignation conduced to the fall of the Martignac Administration. M. de Caulaincourt had been Napoleon I.'s Ambassador to the Czar Alexander I.

† Sir G. Cockburn, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and a member of the Council of the Lord High Admiral (the Duke of Clarence), had remonstrated with the Duke for sending orders to the Admiral at Cork to leave his station, without the knowledge or concurrence of the Board. The quarrel ended in the resignation of the Duke, on the receipt of an autograph letter from the King.

‡ The first Viscount Melbourne died July 22, 1828, and was succeeded by his son, some years subsequent to this Prime Minister. Lady Cowper (afterwards Lady Palmerston) was the daughter of the first Viscount.

Howick,
July 28th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I should before this have announced, by arrival here, the only event that I could have to communicate, had not a great accumulation of business during a long absence—

‘Business the thing which I of all things hate,
Business the contradiction of my fate’—

left me without a moment that I could call my own. I have now to thank you for your letter of the 23rd, which gave me, as your letters always do, the greatest pleasure.

Your successes have hitherto been uninterrupted—even the fortresses on your road, with the exception of Ibrail, seem to have opposed no serious resistance. Considering what the Turkish Government is, I cannot give it credit for any well-considered plan of defence, or for the means of executing it successfully if such a plan had been formed, otherwise there might be ground for fearing that a successful defence of the passes of the Balkan might compel your army to retreat under very disastrous circumstances. It seems much more probable that nothing can stop your progress but the submission of the Turks. I shall then exact from you your promise of the most disinterested and exemplary moderation.

As to Portugal, it makes me sick to think of it. It is natural that those who went on the expedition to Oporto should endeavour to divert from themselves all blame on account of what has happened. But if you will attend to the dates, you will find that our acknowledgment of the blockade could not have been

known when the Constitutional army ran away from Coimbra and from the line of the Vouga; and from that moment the whole thing became hopeless. . . .

God bless you, dearest Princess; don't let the stupidity of my letters deter you from writing.

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

July 30th, 1828.

I have no letter from you as yet, my dear lord, but as the week has elapsed I write again in spite of your not writing to me. My most recent news from the seat of war is of the date of July 6; from Karasou, and my brother writes that he was setting out that same evening with the Emperor on the forward march. The army was advancing by forced marches on Bazarjik and Shumla, where it was expected they would encounter the Grand Vizier at the head of 50,000 men. The Sultan has forbidden his men to wear the turban any more, and this order has produced much discontent among the troops. In place of the turban he has substituted the red cap of liberty—rather a queer choice. Our army was all eagerness to attack. Personally I regret the Emperor should take part in the expedition against Shumla, for, as you know, my sole anxiety in this war centres itself in the safety of the Czar.

France is sending troops to the number of 20,000 into the Morea to turn out Ibrahim Pasha.* Metternich is now of opinion this would be a fine thing to do, in

* The French had wished to send troops, to turn the Egyptians out of the Morea, six months before this, but at the Duke of Wellington's urgent remonstrance they had abandoned the plan. The Duke had now suddenly changed his views.

order, once and for all, to have done with that odious Treaty of London ; and your Government has immediately agreed that Metternich was right. Greece will be liberated, and France is only too happy at being able to acquire this small halo of glory. I do not know what you English are doing in those parts, but I am charmed, whatever happens—and so wags the world.

Everybody says Peel* is not going to remain on in the Ministry ; do you know anything of the matter? The Duke of Cumberland is become a fixture at Windsor.

And now I must finish, my dear lord ; my leisure has been taken up with other matters in London (where I am closing this letter to you), and I have time for nothing more. Lord Strangford is to be sent to Rio Janeiro to bring the Portuguese business to a conclusion with Don Pedro ; do you think the choice a lucky one ?

Now pray write, and do not forget me.

Howick,

Aug. 3rd, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

About the same time that your letter of July 30 reached me, you would receive one from me. I wish I could make any return for your letters, but when I have said that they always give me the greatest pleasure, what have I to add from this place where I see nobody and hear nothing except what is communicated by the public papers? . . . I am lately become very prudent, and will not commit myself even to you by pronouncing opinions, which better information may change. But I will acknowledge that in what is passing

* Home Secretary.

I see much that I do not comprehend, and much, if the inferences I draw be just, of which I cannot approve. Nothing has impressed me more than the French expedition to the Morea with our concurrence ; nor do I very well understand how such a measure, approved and supported by us, is consistent with the satisfaction expressed in the King's Speech, at your having been induced to withdraw the hostile orders given to your Admiral in the Mediterranean.* They say obscurity gives a character of greatness, and not comprehending the measures of our Government, I must suppose that they are too sublime for my limited understanding. I trust, therefore, that we shall come out of our embarrassments, both as to Greece and Portugal, covered with glory, though I do not exactly see how, in the course that we are pursuing, that result is to be attained. But my prudence is leaving me, and if I were talking instead of writing to you, it is probable that all my reserve would be overcome.

I have not heard a word of the probability of Mr. Peel's quitting the Ministry. He certainly has not shown great power as leader of the House of Commons, but such as he is, he is the only one that the ranks of the Ministry can produce ; perhaps I might add, or those of the Opposition, either. If he resigns, then it appears to me impossible that the Administration can go on without great and material changes.

I expect daily an account of something decisive

* In the Speech from the Throne at the close of the Session, on the 28th July, it was said : ' His Imperial Majesty [the Emperor of Russia] has consented to waive the exercise, in the Mediterranean Sea, of any rights appertaining to his Imperial Majesty in the character of a belligerent Power, and to recall the separate instructions which had been given to the commander of his naval forces in that sea, directing hostile operations against the Ottoman Porte.'

from the theatre of war. I do not wonder at your anxiety about the Emperor, exposed, as he must be, to the danger of a destructive climate, which is greater than that of war. The *Bonnet Rouge* of the Turks is very amusing, and likely to produce anything rather than the enthusiasm which pushed on the French under that ornament to the discomfiture of all the disciplined armies of Europe.

Continue to write, and be assured that your letters can never be bestowed on anyone more sensible of your kindness.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—I cannot believe in Strangford's mission.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Aug. 6th, 1828.

This is Wednesday, and here is my letter, my dear lord—is not all this most systematic? But though my letters may be so, my thoughts are not, for they often wander in your direction without its being the proper hour or day. I have no news to give you. The papers will have acquainted you with the movements of our armies, and we know nothing more. We are every moment expecting to receive news of what will probably have been a most bloody battle before Shumla.

The French, as you see, are extremely proud of their projected expedition to the Morea; it is to set sail the 10th of this month.

From Portugal we hear of nothing but proscriptions

and vengeance. The Marquise de Loulé* has come over here from France to sell her diamonds. She has nothing left to live on, for they have stopped her pension. As a consequence, she has become a thorough 'Constitutionalist,' and says hanging is too good for Don Miguel. Don Pedro is going to send his daughter† over to Europe; the poor child is safe either to be poisoned, physically, by Don Miguel, or, morally, by Metternich.

Prince Leopold sets out to-day for the Continent. He wishes to witness the Prussian manœuvres in Silesia; he is going to pay the Grand-Duke Constantine a visit at Warsaw, and from there, they say, he will proceed and either join the headquarters of our army or visit Vienna. The alternatives, however, seem to me of rather an extreme order. Austria, they say, is arming to the extent of 400,000 men. I know not where the money is to come from, though. You have not enough of that commodity to let you go to the Morea and fulfil your treaty obligations; have you then, perchance, enough to lend, in order to break the treaty? However, whether Austria arms or does not arm, we shall not be greatly alarmed thereby.

What awful weather it is! Do you think there can be a drop of water left in the sky? It would seem to me that we Russians, who own the shores of the Baltic, ought to do a good business this year in consequence of your bad crops.

We are going to Windsor next week for the cele-

* Widow of the Marquis de Loulé, Minister of John VI. of Portugal, who was murdered in the royal palace at Lisbon in 1824, with the connivance of Queen Charlotte and her son, Don Miguel.

† Donna Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, daughter of Pedro IV. (or I. of Brazil) and his wife Leopoldine, daughter of the Emperor Francis II. of Austria.

bration of the King's birthday. Have you seen and are you reading the 'Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo'? They are very interesting. From all I know of affairs, he appears to write with such perfect truth and candour that I find his book very charming reading. If you have not got the volumes, tell me, and I will send them you, provided you indicate how they are to be got down to Howick. . . .

The Duke of Cumberland goes back to Germany immediately after the King's birthday; everybody is delighted at it—at his going, I mean. Do you believe the rumour that Peel is about to retire in consequence of an intention there is to bring on the Catholic Question? . . .

At this moment I receive your letter of the 3rd. . . . On the matter treated of in your letter there is so much I could tell you, and a sheet of paper always appears to me such an insecure confidant, that I dare hardly begin. If you were here with me it would be different. I must, however, explain one point to which you refer, namely, the King's Speech. Judging from the way in which the Emperor's resolution to forego his belligerent rights in the Mediterranean is therein referred to, one would imagine that it was *your* Government who had made him agree to this, and that the merit was theirs alone. Now, this is false, for the facts are as follow: As early as the month of March my husband proposed, and in April reiterated the proposition, that we should remain neutral, and act as mediators in the Mediterranean, our fleet joining the ships of the other allied Powers. The Duke of Wellington, however, declared this was impracticable, and that he could not agree to it. As it seemed impos-

sible to come to an understanding on this head, our Admiral received his orders accordingly, but it was enjoined on him only to bring his rights as a belligerent into action when absolutely forced so to do. Meanwhile we continued to press our view here in London, to the effect that the position of Russia, as one of the mediating Powers, still seemed to us perfectly possible ; and, further, that provided they would be reasonable here in England, and agree to what was considered reasonable (and, in truth, greatly desired) in Paris, we still would keep to our original proposition, and send our Admiral orders to act accordingly. Then, what had been considered an impossibility in the month of April was found very convenient in May or June--and this is the plain truth of the matter. In the month of July our action is spoken of in the King's Speech in the way you have seen.

It all rather reminds one of the merit your Government has arrogated to itself for the sending back, by Lamb, of the loan of money that had arrived in Lisbon ; for it is notorious, in this last case, that Lamb acted entirely on his own responsibility, and that the Government did not even trouble to let him know whether they had approved or disapproved of what he had done. During the month of March the Duke of Wellington said to several of the foreign diplomatists in London : ' If the French send a single soldier to the Morea, I shall declare war with France.' And yet in July he agrees to 20,000 men being sent there !

Good-bye, my dear lord. I have written too much, both as to quantity and quality, and must leave off now. Strangford is going to Brazil, in spite of both your astonishment and mine.

My letters, I trust and believe, are like our talks, *tête-à-tête*, for you alone, and go no further.

Howick,
Aug. 10th, 1828.

DEAR MADAME DE LIEVEN,

I cannot suffer a post to pass without saying how much I have been gratified by your kind and agreeable letter of the 6th. . . .

What you say of the orders given to your Admiral, and of the French expedition to the Morea, is very curious, and certainly very different from the impression given by the language of our Government. I confess it puzzles me.

From whatever quarter Austria may get money, it certainly will not be from hence; and I, for one, approve very much of the policy of keeping what we have in our pockets. Kept there, it will enable us to assert our just pretensions more effectually, whenever it may be necessary to do so, than spending it where we have no direct interest. As to Austria, I regard all we hear of her preparations as mere bravado, though if you were to experience any serious reverse, her position is one which you must look at with some jealousy.

If the Duke of Wellington sets to work in earnest to settle the question of Ireland, I do not think it at all improbable that Peel will retire—that is, for a time. I should think better of him if he had the manliness to keep his office, and to avow a change of opinion, which there are so many reasons to justify.* But in

* Mr. Peel had hitherto opposed the removal of the Catholic disabilities, the Bill for which the Duke of Wellington's Government had now taken into consideration.

this case the Government would not be so much embarrassed by his quitting office. I, for one, thinking this question so much the most important of any that we now have to consider, should not hesitate to avow myself a supporter of the Minister who had the power and the wisdom to carry a measure so essential to the entity of the British Empire. Against this Greece, Portugal, Constantinople, are, in my opinion, of little weight in the balance.

What are these accounts of the plague in the principalities, and even in your camp? As you do not mention them, I conclude they are exaggerations or altogether false. I come to the same conclusion with respect to the check you are said to have received, which probably is no more than the affair of cavalry mentioned in the gazettes, which appears to have been of little consequence itself, and attended with no great advantage or loss on one side or the other.

Is this deluge owing to the spots in the sun? They say the same appearances were observed in the rainy summer of 1816. Or is the sun itself going out? That would be an end of the world which I should by no means approve. It could, indeed, end in no way that I should like to witness, but I should prefer fire to cold and damp and all the misery of famine and utter darkness. We cannot now have a good harvest, and corn must come from the Baltic, if you have any to send.

Be assured that your letters, like your conversations, are sacred to me. This I consider as an established compact between us, which I observe so religiously that I abstain from repeating even the most innocent

things, from the fear of being quoted and misrepresented.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

P.S.—. . . Did you not approve the article in the *Times* about Strangford?

To Earl Grey.

Windsor,
Aug. 13th, 1828.

I have been here already three days, my dear lord, and stay over to-morrow. As it is now raining, I have a moment for writing to you, the walking party having been put off. The King is in excellent health, but somewhat affected by the departure of the Duke of Cumberland and his son, an event which took place last night. The Duke of Wellington came down yesterday, but in time for dinner only. He looked out of humour. To-morrow he goes on to Cheltenham, to stay there a fortnight. There were here yesterday the whole Royal Family; further, the Chancellor* and Lord Dudley, the new Chamberlain,† Lord Chesterfield, and a small troop of minor courtiers. To-day they are all gone. And now my budget of Court news is exhausted.

I am so happy to learn that the Government has given one of your brothers preferment in the Church;‡ I offer you my sincere congratulations. As you will easily foresee, this will give rise to much conjecture,

* Lord Lyndhurst.

† The Duke of Montrose.

‡ Edward Grey, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, named Prebendary of Westminster.

for everything now makes people talk. The Duke of Cumberland comes back in November, for it really seems probable that Parliament will be then assembled. He told me he would fight to the last if they even dreamt of any Catholic Relief Bill, and that his stay in England had so conduced to the strengthening and augmentation of his party, that he felt sure of gaining the battle, whatever forces might be arrayed against him.

We have heard nothing as yet from Shumla ; the more the news delays the more impatient I get ; there must assuredly have been fighting there. Palmella, as you imagined, is very much put out at Strangford's being named Minister to the Brazils. And what aggravates the impropriety of the choice is that an autograph letter of King John VI.* to the King of England is still extant, in which he, at that date, begged for this same Lord Strangford's recall from Rio Janeiro, as being a person of an intriguing and insolent disposition. And yet they are now sending him back to the same post. To judge from appearances, your Government would desire and urge Don Miguel's being recognised as King. This may be very good politics, but it is hardly good morals.

Aug. 14th.—My letter could not be sent off yesterday, so I finish it to-day, which gives me the opportunity, my dear lord, of thanking you for yours of the 10th, which I received at breakfast-time. A messenger from the Russian headquarters has also come, bringing my husband some despatches ; but they are of no recent date, being from Bazarjik, of July 15. On the

* John VI. of Portugal, father of Don Miguel and of Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil.

18th it was expected that the army would reach Shumla, and it was only there that any judgment could be formed of the obstacles which would have to be surmounted during the remainder of the campaign. The despatches do not say a word about the plague; the Emperor was in excellent health, and everybody else equally so, except Nesselrode, who had the gout, which is hardly a form of the pest. The heat had been very great.

Our day here at Windsor yesterday was passed very peaceably. In the morning we had music in place of going out walking; only eight to dinner; and in the evening music again, of amateurs—that is to say, his Majesty and myself. We return to London to-day, whither I shall take up this letter to the post.

The King of Sweden* appears to be greatly disquieted at the projected marriage between the Prince Gustavus and the daughter of the King of the Netherlands, and complains loudly against his bearing the title of Prince Gustavus *of Sweden*. The poor boy must, however, have a patronymic of some kind, and where else is it to be taken from? This little affair has given rise to an immense amount of diplomatic gossiping, and all about a matter that makes but a paltry figure, beside the great events now going forward. Austria, who will have her finger in every pie, and is never so happy as when engaged in some small intrigue, has in this instance managed to detain Gustavus in the Austrian Empire; this makes the King of the Netherlands lose the very object he most aimed at in the marriage, which was to keep his

* Bernadotte (Charles XIV.). The Prince Gustavus was the son of Gustavus IV., dethroned in 1809, who was at this time still living (he died in 1837), being commonly known as Colonel Gustavson.

daughter with him—but, then, Metternich likes to have a pretender in his pocket. Your King, as it appears to me, is now beginning perfectly to understand the ways of this great statesman, whose credit, none the less, is still at a premium with the Ministers. And a pity it is that it be so!

At dinner the day before yesterday, the Duke of Wellington and I made it up, to a certain extent; however, anything further is put off by his visit to Cheltenham, and we shall see after his return whether on both sides the reconciliation will flourish. I shall tell you if it does, for, in truth, I seem to tell you everything. If the bringing on of the Irish Question would lead you to give your support to the Government, I do not see why you should stop at that point. You should join them; half-measures do not suit you. Oppose, or be of the Government. Do you not think I should be happy at the latter alternative?

Good-bye, my dear lord; as our correspondence has become so full and regular, do not let it now fall off. What weather, to be sure! We are being drowned out at Windsor.

A thousand kindest regards.

Howick,

Aug. 18th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your last kind letter, of the 13th, afforded me more than usual pleasure, more especially from the expressions with which it concluded. As you wrote from Windsor, how did it happen that you said nothing of the resignation of the Lord High Admiral,* the

* The Duke of Clarence.

account of which I heard by the same post ? I have always foreseen that difficulties must arise from that appointment, which, sooner or later, must have this result ; but at the moment it was quite unexpected by me. The truth is, that the head of the Admiralty is a situation so very different from that of Commander-in-Chief, and so intimately connected with the general government of the country, that it could not be held, without the greatest public inconvenience, by anybody not in the Cabinet. This might have been foreseen by Mr. Canning. But he acted on the maxim of *Après moi le déluge*, and left this embarrassment, which, if he had lived, he would himself have experienced, with so many others, as a legacy to his successors. Personally, I have reason to regret the Duke, as he has been extremely kind to me ; but I cannot shut my eyes, knowing as I do the nature of the business of that office, to the inconvenience of his having been appointed to it.

Few things could have been more gratifying to me than the appointment of my brother to the living lately held by the present Bishop of London. And the manner in which it was given to him by the Duke of Wellington was so kind and considerate, and so delicate personally to me, as greatly to enhance the obligation. I have no doubt, as you say, that this occurrence will furnish matter for conjectures, to which I have been too much accustomed to pay any great regard to them. So far it will have its effect, that I should feel increased pain in being compelled, on any future occasion, to express a strong dissent from any important measure of the Duke's Administration. But this would only affect the manner of my performing a

public duty. I was glad to hear that the meeting at Windsor '*vous avait un peu rapproché du Duc de Wellington,*' and sincerely should I rejoice if, before his return from Cheltenham, events should take a course that should lead to more communication between you.

I have always thought that the question of Miguel or Pedro (*l'un je crois vaut bien l'autre*) was one to be decided by the people of Portugal. If they submit to the Government of Miguel, it appears a necessary consequence that it should, in due time, be acknowledged by other powers. I am a great lover of morality, public and private, but the intercourse of nations cannot be strictly regulated by that rule. If it had, foreign powers could not have acknowledged Ferdinand,* no less a perjurer and a rebel than Miguel, or your Catherine, or our Cromwell. If we had intended to interfere on this principle, we should have done so at first; and if we did not, there was not common sense in sending our troops to Portugal. But in sending them, that principle of interference was expressly disclaimed by Mr. Canning, and equally so by the Rump of his Administration, under whose Government, be it remembered, Don Miguel came back, and who boasted that the threat of an invasion from Spain having been repelled, the object of the expedition, its sole object, had been completely accomplished.

I expect to hear every day of your being in possession of Shumla and Varna. But it seems to me that it would not be prudent to attempt to go further this campaign. I hear from Plymouth a dreadful account of the storm which drove your ships back there. If your Admiral has not yet appeared, there may be

* Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

ground for some apprehension for his safety. I remember reading in the papers that his ship had been aground, and though no material damage might have been apprehended, it is too probable that enough may have been sustained to render the ship unsafe in a great storm. God bless you, dearest Princess, and accept from me, in return, *mille amitiés très tendres*.

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Aug. 20th, 1828.

Your letter of the 18th was handed to me a few hours ago, my dear lord, and as Wednesday has come round once more, my answer will reach you by return of post.

I wish you could read your letters with my eyes, or, at any rate, read them with somebody else's eyes than your own. You would then see how thoroughly in all points you are the advocate of the Government, though you are doubtless yourself quite unconscious of the position. I beg you will not take my observation as in the nature of a reproach; it is merely the well-recognised truth I am forcing upon you, that onlookers see most of the game; and I really should not be astonished to learn that you have finally come to applaud even the choice of Lord Strangford. But, pray, do not get angry, for you know I only speak out all that comes into my head.

We know as yet nothing from Shumla. My impatience is extreme; but I am so convinced that nothing will be left to chance, that I am without real anxiety in the matter. In Asia some progress is being made.

I did not tell you about the Duke of Clarence, because the matter had gone out of my head when I last wrote. Since then the subject has been constantly brought before me, for the public name you as likely to be his successor. I, however, believe nothing of it, for you have too often told me how impossible it would be for you to come into the Government by yourself. Then, again, since yesterday, I hear it spoken of as likely that the Duke of Clarence will keep his post; he has, at any rate, made his peace with Sir George Cockburn, who is to dine at his house to-morrow. The Duke of Clarence's sons were delighted at his resignation, saying it would be better for him to live and be King, than to kill himself by being Lord High Admiral.

I sent for and saw our last messenger who arrived from Bazarjik, and got him to talk to me. What he said interested me greatly. He tells me the troops have plenty of food, but that they are much annoyed at being forced to eat nothing but geese, of which creatures whole armies arrive at the front. The country is magnificent; corn in plenty, and forage of all sorts abundant. The Emperor lives in the midst of his men, and lets them sing all day long. You, perhaps, do not know that the lower orders in Russia all sing continually. The coachman who drives you asks your permission to sing, and if you are not in a humour to grant the request, he does not drive you as quickly as if his tongue be loosed.

The messenger crossed the Imperial Guards at a point near the Danube; other army corps from the rear are to take their place in Bessarabia and the Principalities. There never was any plague at Bucharest;

it was merely a form of typhus fever that carried off patients at the end of ten days, and those who obtained medical treatment did not die of it.

Mr. Dawson's speech would lead one to imagine that the Government is prepared to inaugurate liberal measures in the Catholic Question.* The ultra-Tories are furious. We shall now see what the Duke of Cumberland will do.

The Swedish Government threatens the Netherlands with a declaration of war if they give the Prince the title of *Gustavus of Sweden*. On the other hand, the King of the Netherlands will probably reply that it is not his business to expatriate his son-in-law. Further, they have sent and got his passport from Vienna, and it bears the name of Prince G. of *Sweden*; the Austrian Court almanack likewise the same. They have called on Metternich for an explanation. He replies that the almanack is not under the censorship of the Government, neither are the passports. Your Government appears to espouse the cause of the King of Sweden; he is an ally to be made much of, and we know why. It is all a pitiful business. If Gustavus is a person to be feared by the present Bernadotte dynasty he will remain so, with or without his title; and if he is not a redoubtable personage, then what is this very German quarrel of titles about? It is a little diplomatic by-play beside the great game.

The rain is coming down again; I suppose we have not already had enough of it. We know nothing of

* On the 12th of August, at a public dinner given in Londonderry, Mr. Dawson, one of the members for the county, and Mr. Peel's brother-in-law, had declared that the Catholic Association ought to be conciliated by granting the emancipation which they desired.

our Admiral's ship, and, as you say, there is matter for grave anxiety.

Good-bye, my dear lord ; write, pray, to me regularly.

The Governor of Madeira,* apparently, is determined to resist as long as he has a man left, and his colleague of Terceira says the like ; and yet the disaster of Oporto was already made public in the islands. I know not if I have already told you that the deputies of the Cortes summoned by Don Miguel were furious against him ; and they now have gone home in no amiable mood at having been brought together merely to sanction his usurpation, and then dismissed without any rewards. If Don Pedro makes the slightest effort, civil war will again break out.

I never can finish my letters ; however, I really must now say good-bye, and for another week.

Howick,
Aug. 24th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 20th ; and Wednesdays and Sundays seem to be the established days for our correspondence. Which of us will fail first in an exact observance of them ?

Nothing you can say can make me angry. . . . Perhaps I may see, in your manner of taking the least word that appears to favour the present Ministers, as strong a proof of a rooted distrust and ill-will to them, as you do in my letters of a disposition to be their

* General Valdez, the Governor of Madeira, had declared (25th June) for Don Pedro and the Queen, Donna Maria ; a month later, however, he was overpowered and escaped on board an English sloop. The revolt in Terceira was more successful.

defender in everything. But I never can be offended by the frank expression of an opinion ; and though I may not think it altogether just, I will acknowledge that it is so far supported by some appearance of truth, that I can certainly feel personally to the Duke of Wellington the greatest goodwill, and that I must see a prospect of something better to replace his Administration before I can become a party to any attempt upon it. In his general line of policy I am strongly disposed to concur ; with respect to some of the details of its execution I feel doubtful, and the composition of the Government, upon the whole, is not such as to enable me to express perfect confidence or approbation. *Voilà ma profession de foi.* Can you make much of it? Guard it in your memory, however, if you think any part of my conduct worth attention, and apply it to future events. You will learn in time to know me.

Of course, you would not give credit to the report of my going to the Admiralty ; for this simple reason, if for no other, that you had heard nothing of it from me. It seems, however, to have been more generally believed than I could have imagined, and has already produced applications to me for appointments. Before I received your letter I had thought it probable that the Duke of Clarence would remain, after all, and, of course, my opinion of that probability is now increased. I hear, however, that in addition to the other persons speculated upon as his successors, Lord Melbourne* is now named. That is an appointment of which you would, of course, approve.

It seems a long time since we heard of the arrival of your army in front of Shumla, and of the expectation

* Afterwards Premier.

of an immediate attack. I have no idea (though Wilson is still confident in his original prophecies) that it can fail, yet in your place I confess the delay would make me rather uneasy. You cannot remain long in your present position, and if you have found the Turks too strong to make an attack prudent, a retreat would be attended with many unpleasant, and even dangerous, consequences. But what has happened lately in Bosnia, added to all we had heard before, affords very little reason to believe that you can meet with any effectual resistance.

I cannot imagine that we shall take any part whatever in the dispute respecting the Prince of Sweden. But I cannot think with you that it is a point of small importance to the present King, or that the danger to his dynasty would not be increased by the encouragement and expectation which this sort of acknowledgment would afford to his enemies. *We*, at least, have no right to treat such a matter lightly, being ourselves under the direction of statesmen, who would certainly bear a comparison with any that have since appeared, made the same point with France with respect to the Pretender* . . .

To Earl Grey.

Stoke,

Aug. 27th, 1828.

I have no news to send you to-day, my dear lord, and cannot even thank you for a letter, for none has reached me. Also about Shumla I can tell you

* The concluding sentences of this letter are missing, and the last phrase, here copied *literatim*, is evidently wanting in some words, although the general meaning is not to be doubted.

nothing, for not a word of news has reached us. There is nothing, either, about the Duke of Clarence, or rather about his successor, except that the public still continue to say that you are to be the man. When are you going to tell me of it? The news from Portugal still speaks of great commotions as existing in the northern provinces. Don Miguel sends out fresh proclamations against the rebels. So I suppose they must still exist. The news appears to be correct that he has left his mother,* and that they have quarrelled; further, that a fresh party is already forming, who look to the Queen as their head. Chavés† is one of them; he and his friends are extremely discontented with Don Miguel. It seems, therefore, likely that acts of violence and civil war will recommence in this unhappy country. Meanwhile, Lord Strangford, the hero of intrigue, of misunderstandings, and fibbings, has set out to make confusion worse confounded. They pretend that contrary winds will force him to put in to Lisbon, and that he will then communicate to Don Miguel, verbally, the assurance of the tender interest with which the British Government regards him.

At this moment I receive your letter of the 24th; my best thanks for it, and I can say no more, for my letter must now be sent off. I have no anxieties about Shumla, but I am in a fever of curiosity and impatience.

I have been down to see Lady Grey at Wimbledon. How beautiful the country all is! Good-bye, my dear lord, for I am hurried. What a stupid letter I have written you! We have been at Stoke since yesterday,

* The Queen-mother, Charlotte, widow of John VI. of Portugal and sister of Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

† The Marquis de Chavés.

and stay till the day after to-morrow. The weather is charming, but the company rather too juvenile to suit my taste. 'Dandies' have never stood very high in my favour.

Once more good-bye ; let us keep to our regular ways ; certainly I shall not be the one to fail, for I take too much pleasure in writing.

Yours ever truly,

Howick,

Aug. 31st, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Yesterday's post brought me your letter of Wednesday—and Sunday, of course, calls upon me for an answer, for which, however, you have not furnished me with many materials. What shall I say, then ? To give you an account of my country life would both tire and provoke you. . . . Lady Grey told me of your visit to Wimbledon, which was very kind. I wish you knew her better. . . . Why did not Sefton make our visits at Stoke correspond ? I flatter myself you would have liked meeting me as well as the 'Dandies !' I do not much admire the place, but it is in a pleasant country, and being within sight of Windsor, must have filled you with the most delightful reminiscences. Here I shall never see you, yet I am going to hold out a great temptation. I have this morning received a letter from the Duke of Sussex, announcing his intention of being here the end of next month. If this does not bring you, nothing will !

I do not believe your confidence in the ultimate success of your army will be disappointed. But the delay before Shumla can only, I think, be accounted for

by their having found it a more difficult business than they expected. How ardently I pray to see all the world once more at peace! What a symptom of increasing age!

I hear now that Lord Bathurst is likely to go to the Admiralty. In that case, who will succeed him as President [of the Council]? *Blanc ou noir? id est* Protestant or Catholic? This is a point to which I look with great anxiety. I hear one piece of news, however, which gives me great pleasure—that Parliament is not likely to meet before Christmas.

I have just begun the ‘Duke of Rovigo,’ having been prevented hitherto from doing so by the stupidity of my bookseller in omitting to send me the first volume. I have advanced but a very little way, but far enough to be satisfied that you have not recommended this book without reason.

If this letter is more than usually stupid, you may thank yourself for it. What can a Northumberland farmer have to say, when you give him nothing to answer?

Ever, dearest Princess, most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,

Sept. 3rd, 1828.

Your letter has not yet come, my dear lord, but as to-day mine ought to be sent off, I write without further waiting.

We have at last received official news from Count Nesselrode. His despatch, dated Shumla, August 2, has been thirty days on the road, because it came *viâ*

Vienna ; another despatch, dated the 12th, which came by Odessa, reached us at the same time. In that first named, the Vice-Chancellor informs my husband that the Emperor, having inaugurated the investment of Shumla, and the Turkish force there assembled making it necessary that our army should receive reinforcements—his Majesty was proceeding first to Varna to inspect the siege operations before that town, would then hold a review of all the troops that had already reached the Danube, and from there was going on to Odessa to spend a few days with the Empress. After this the Emperor was to return to the front, bringing up the Imperial Guard to the siege of Shumla. The surrender of this place or of Varna is a necessity before the passage of the Balkans can be made. The investment of both towns was extremely close. Communications between Shumla and Constantinople were cut off by detachments of our men, who had turned the position. In short, all our operations were being pushed forward most actively. My husband has further received orders to state once again the Emperor's determination not to make peace before the conditions laid down in our declaration of war, and in Count Nesselrode's letter* to the Grand Vizier, have been fulfilled.

The Emperor has invited the Corps Diplomatique to assemble at Odessa. I think, between ourselves, that he is somewhat put out by such a following as he found at head-quarters. One after the other, all the European courts, both great and small, have thought themselves obliged to send their embassies, and now he finds himself surrounded by a whole tribe of diplomats who have to be lodged, fed, and provided with

* Of the 14th/26th April, 1828, from Petersburg.

carriage ; who have all to be treated ceremoniously, and who cannot fail to be very much in his way. I do not know what reception your Ambassador met with.* The Austrian arrived at Imperial head-quarters the very day the Emperor was leaving, and I do not think he even saw him. Such is the substance of the news we have received. To sum up : our operations are being carried on with renewed vigour, and the Emperor's intention, as regards any possible peace, remains unchanged. It is reported that the Turkish army in Shumla is 120,000 strong, but this has not prevented our investing the place ; and by this time the assault has probably been made.

It is delightful weather here, and as I have my children with me I am perfectly contented. It is reported that negotiations are still going on with the Duke of Clarence, but I doubt the truth of this, for I think the Duke of Wellington is not sorry to be rid of him. Lord Melbourne is here, and has had no proposals made to him. Lady Cowper is of opinion that he would agree to none as long as the composition of the Cabinet remains as at present. Good-bye, my dear lord ; I thank you in advance for the letter I hope to receive to-morrow, for I rely on your *Sundays* as you do on my *Wednesdays*.

A thousand kindest regards,

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

Sept. 7th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

This is written, as usual, on Sunday, but you will receive it a day sooner, as I am under the necessity

* Lord Heytesbury.

of sending specially to Alnwick, which will save to-day's post.

Your account confirms in substance what I have read in the papers. I have very little doubt, when all your reinforcements are brought up, that you will succeed in your attack on Shumla. But why attack it at all, if you have cut off all the communications of the Turkish army, and deprived them of the means of obtaining supplies? And is it not too much, even for Turks, to allow themselves to be so completely invested by an army, not sufficiently strong to make a direct attack upon them? There is something alarming in the tone in which you announce the Emperor's determination not to lay down his arms till all his demands are complied with. But I will not anticipate possibilities which are not yet probabilities, and which, if realized, would give me the greatest pain. Have you ever seen a book entitled, *Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe*? Many copies of it were found in the house occupied by the Duke of Bassano, in Wilna, in 1812, and one was sent to me from thence by Wilson. It was said that the publication was afterwards suppressed.

Of our domestic politics I hear literally nothing. As I see in the papers that the Duke of Wellington is returned to London, I suppose we must soon hear of the new arrangements at the Admiralty—if there are to be any new ones.

I was rather surprised at being told the other day that Lord Melbourne had said at Brookes' that I had written to you to say that he would be the First Lord. There certainly was nothing in the manner in which I mentioned this report to make repeating it of

the least consequence; but I know my friends at Brookes' too well not to expect to hear that on this foundation various conjectures, and not improbably facts, have been raised, which will furnish a day or two's employment to all the gossips in St. James's Street. I begin to think that one ought to repeat nothing—literally nothing; and I am become wonder fully discreet in this respect.

I am sure you will be glad to hear, what you may perhaps already have heard, that I have good news this morning from Wimbledon of my daughter's accouchement.*

Believe me, ever dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

Howick,

Sept. 14th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter† of Wednesday last yesterday. I did not intend any threat to you in what I said about not repeating things. It applied only to what I might write to you, or you to me. But I have no wish that our correspondence should be a secret, so we will go on, if you please, as we have done hitherto, only not furnishing any, even the most innocent, matter to those who have no occupation but gossiping. I see now, to use the sporting term, that Lord Melbourne is the favourite for the Admiralty. I thought this at first the most likely arrangement. But I was assured so positively that it was not to be, that I gave up my opinion. I return to it in consequence of the

* 'Sept. 7.—At Copse Hill, Surrey, Lady Durham, of a son.'

† Letter missing.

renewed report, more especially if, in the move that it will occasion, Lord Ellenborough* is to obtain a place of more efficiency and power. But what excites my curiosity most is the appointment of the new member of the Cabinet.

The Duc de Richelieu came here yesterday from Chillingham, and left us this morning for the Doncaster Races. He was very good-humoured, and desirous both of pleasing and being pleased, two things which I believe are essentially connected together. But I cannot say that he either interested or amused me. I am going myself to-day to my brother's, six miles from here, and from thence to-morrow to Chillingham, where I shall stay till Thursday, and return here on Friday. This is a visit rather of duty than pleasure, as I am afraid we are not likely to find anybody there. Lord Tankerville, however, *ne manque pas d'esprit*, and his manner of seeing everything on the worst side, and something of original humour in his way of giving vent to his spleen against all mankind, together with his excessive pride and utter aristocracy, are rather amusing. My lady you know too well to make it necessary for me to describe her.

Your account of the reception of Lord Heytesbury by the Emperor gave me the greatest pleasure. I hope I may augur from it a continuance of our friendship, of which my observation of what has been passing made me rather fear that there might be some interruption. To send troops to the Morea while they suffer the army at Shumla to be starved in their own country would, indeed, exceed anything that we ever

* At this time Privy Seal.

heard before of Turkish conduct. Your paper, the *Times*, seems latterly to have become very hostile to you.

I envy Lady Cowper being so near as to enable you to pay her such long visits. You cease even to mention your desire to come to Howick. Is it that this desire has passed away?

I continue to receive good accounts of my daughter, and expect Lady Grey here on Sunday next.

Ever yours,

GREY.

[In June the Estates of Portugal had met, and had declared Don Miguel King; on the 28th of that month the new sovereign assumed his full name and title. Meanwhile, Don Pedro of Brazil, who had not, as yet, been fully informed of his brother's usurpation, despatched his daughter, the young Queen Donna Maria, now nine years old, to Europe on a visit to her grandfather, the Emperor Francis II., at Vienna. The news that reached M. de Barbacena, her Chamberlain, at Gibraltar, decided him to bring the young Queen on to England, and there await Don Pedro's further orders instead of proceeding direct, *via* Genoa, to Vienna, as had been originally intended.

In August, General Constantine Benkendorf, brother of Princess Lieven, died of fever in camp before Pravadi, which place the troops under his command had just taken.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 17th, 1828.

You will own that I deserve somewhat at your hands, my dear lord; my letter of to-day is written while suffering the most poignant grief that I have ever been called upon to bear. . . . You cannot think what a loving and devoted brother my poor Constantine was to me: how he loved me; how we sympathized in all our tastes; and how in everything

our interests were held in common. He took the fever at Pravadi, brought on by the fatigues and anxieties that his command there laid on him ; for this was the most advanced post of our military operations. As soon as the Emperor heard of his being ill, he sent him orders to come and join the Court at Odessa to recruit his health, and at the very moment when they were expecting to see him, the news was brought of his death. Count Nesselrode sent my husband the sad tidings by a messenger, who left Odessa on August 28. . . . I have now known of my loss these five days past, but the thinking of it only seems to make my trial the harder to bear.

Thursday, the 18th.

I was not in a condition to finish my letter yesterday, and meanwhile I have received yours, my dear lord, of the 14th. I thank you for it, and wish I could write to you as usual ; but I can think of nothing but of the sad subject that is uppermost in my mind. It occupies both head and heart.

On September 13 our troops were to recommence hostilities, with an army-corps of reinforcements, and the Emperor was to have rejoined by that day. The men were all in good health, in spite of what the newspapers said. The enemy is strong, but I trust we shall not show ourselves weak. Ah, my God ! this war that I so desired, how much has it not cost me !

The Queen Donna Maria da Gloria is coming to England. Monsieur de Barbacena, who has charge of her, has written on word here, that at the date of his leaving Brazil Don Pedro, foreseeing his brother's treason, had entrusted him (Barbacena) with orders for

such a contingency, and, in obedience to these, he no longer considers it his duty to conduct the little Queen to Prince Metternich. He places her under the protection of the British Government.

So here is an extra piece of embarrassment for the Ministry, and I hope they may get out of it with both honour and good faith. She is Queen, without the smallest doubt; and can less be done for her (in the matter of reception and common civility) than was done for Don Miguel, who was only Regent by grace of Don Pedro, just as this little lady is now Queen by her father, Don Pedro's, act? The Ambassador of Portugal and the Brazilian Minister have gone down to Falmouth to receive her. They are hiring a house in the neighbourhood of London, and are going to establish her there. To make things equal, Lord Aberdeen ought to provide her with lodging, as Lord Dudley did for Don Miguel.

Public rumour names Lord Westmoreland as about to enter the Cabinet. What do you say to it? Would this tend to their making concessions to the Catholics?

Good-bye, my dear lord. I am astonished at my having been able to write you so long a letter, and thus even for a moment to have turned my mind from thinking of my sorrow.

Yours,

Howick,

Sept. 21st, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

It is impossible for me to express all I felt on reading your letter of the 17th. . . . You do me only justice in believing that I love you well enough to

sympathize in your affliction. . . . I have seen enough of the misery, both public and private, that war produces to make me detest it. I have not myself escaped without deep wounds, and the end and aim of all my policy would be to keep the world at peace. I would almost go the length of the opinion expressed by Cicero, that the most disadvantageous peace is to be preferred to the most successful and glorious war. I pray, therefore, most sincerely and ardently, that the Will and Power to which we must all bow may so direct events, that a speedy termination may be put to the hostilities which now prevail in the East of Europe. If there be anything like truth in the accounts we read, the difficulties to be surmounted by your army are much greater than were to have been expected.

I have seen a letter from Malta, dated the 12th August, which mentions, as the only news of the place, a violent quarrel between Count Heyden and the French Admiral de Rigny.* It is said to have arisen out of the discussions with Ibrahim Pasha, and that a feeling of distrust had for some time subsisted between them. They had hitherto been induced to act tolerably together by their mutual respect and deference for Sir E. Codrington; but that upon his removal great fears were entertained that there would be an open breach between them. Have you heard anything of this?

I do not see why there should be any embarrassment arising out of the arrival of the Infanta Donna Maria. Of course she will be received with all the

* Heyden, De Rigny and Codrington had commanded, respectively, the Russian, French, and English ships at the Battle of Navarino.

attention and respect that are due to the Emperor's daughter. With her title to the crown we have nothing to do ; that is a question for the Portuguese nation. In the same manner, if that people had refused to accept Don Miguel as Regent, I should have said that we have neither any interest nor right to use force in support of his appointment.

The appointment of Lord Westmoreland would undoubtedly not add to the merit of the Ministry in my eyes. I am sorry to add that I see other symptoms which diminish my hopes of proper measures being taken to restore peace and unity to Ireland.

I only came home yesterday, having passed three very pleasant days with the Tankervilles, and two with my brother. We have now *l'été de Saint Michel*, and the weather is perfectly beautiful.

God bless you, dearest Princess, and believe me,

Ever most sincerely and

Affectionately yours,

GREY.

P.S.—I expect Lady Grey to-day.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 24th, 1828.

I received the few lines you wrote me, my dear lord, from Chillingham. I knew I could count on your friendship, and that you would sympathize with me, and yet your letter, when it came, touched me as much as though I had expected nothing from you. I have not received a word of further news, and not the smallest detail on the subject of my great loss ; and this silence adds the more to my sorrow ; for I

should have liked to have known of everything connected with the sad event.

The Emperor, on his return journey, landed near Varna, and the Imperial Guard had arrived. This is all the news we know. I must confess how much I now blame the want of foresight shown in having begun the war with so few troops. As we had the soldiers ready, why did they not from the very beginning bring into action a sufficiently large body of men? It is answered that according to the general idea, which we, too, credited, the Turks could make no resistance; and that Europe would have regarded the employment of a large army against so feeble an enemy as a proof of the correctness of the suspicion that we intended to overthrow the Ottoman Empire. This may have been a just and even laudable scruple, but certainly, as events have turned out, it has proved to be a deplorable want of foresight. For now, finally, in place of a single campaign, we shall probably have to make two, and a protracted war is a terrible business for both sides. I trust at least the present campaign will result in some brilliant action. The Sultan does not show the slightest wish to negotiate either with us or with you. Why should not the Dardanelles be blockaded? That would, at least, force him to come to terms, and you desire peace quite as much, or even more, than the rest do. What a farce it all is, this neutrality, which, however, in nowise prevents you going to fight the Turks in the Morea; for at last this is what has been agreed to. As this is to be done, why should not the rest be done? You would thus once and for all act frankly in a matter that you certainly, and in any case, are bound to see brought to an issue. How much

better things would go on in the world if only people would act straightforwardly!

What do you say to the Duke of Newcastle's letter? * and what is England coming to if you are to be governed by the clubs? The new Privy Seal is not yet named. † They say a messenger is to be sent off to Vienna to inquire the Emperor of Austria's wishes in regard to the little Queen of Portugal; but this seems to me so absurd that I cannot credit it. For, in point of fact, those who brought her on to England from Gibraltar, because they did not wish to give her over to her grandfather, would certainly not consent to do so any more now than then; and you cannot send her to Vienna as a State prisoner. Don Pedro is the only competent judge in the matter. I can well understand that the Ministers are somewhat embarrassed at the visit; the Portuguese refugees, however, must be highly delighted. Don Miguel, it is said, is much frightened about it all. The Government wish the little Queen to remain down at Falmouth, or at whatever port she may disembark. I hardly know, however, if this will suit M. de Barbacena. The Duke of Wellington, they say, is anxious to communicate with him as soon as he arrives, to find out the true reason of the surprise that he has given them all. Meanwhile the King has appointed two Chamberlains, and has sent his carriages down to meet the Queen. Lady Conyngham came to see me here yesterday. The King has been confined to his bed now for nearly three weeks; he is suffering greatly from gout in the arm.

* In the *Times* of September 23, in answer to one from Lord Kenyon.

† Originally held by Lord Ellenborough, who had just succeeded Lord Melville as President of the Board of Control, the latter having become First Lord of the Admiralty on the resignation of the Duke of Clarence.

The whole diplomatic body—your Ambassador alone excepted—are following after the Emperor, and are going to join the head-quarters of our army. . . . We have heard not a word about Heyden's quarrel with M. de Rigny, but I know that Heyden laments most profoundly having lost Codrington, and demands that he, too, should be tried by court-martial if the latter be found guilty. I note that England alone, of all the Powers of Europe, has refused to give Donna Maria the title of *Queen*. All the other Courts, up to the present, have named her *Queen* when speaking of her, and I do not see why she should be *dis-Queened* over here. At Madeira the fighting lasted two days. There was treason among the troops of the garrison, and this led to Valdez's departure. The Portuguese have fired on your packet-boat at Lisbon with red-hot shot. What I am telling you is all from the official reports which my husband has received from Lisbon.

Adieu, my dear lord.

I, as ever, await your next letter with impatience.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 1st, 1828.

I only came back yesterday, my dear lord, from an excursion I made to Salt Hill. I had promised my children long ago to take them to see Windsor Castle, and as the opportunity was favourable, my husband and I thought we both would give ourselves a little outing. Only half the plan, however, was carried into effect, for my husband was unable to come. He has been passing five consecutive days in conference

with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen. I, for my part, have walked considerably, have seen Lady Conyngham, and after spending to-day away from home, have returned to learn that my husband is very unwell. He came out hoping to have found me here yesterday as soon as his conference was over, and was suffering then from a sharp attack of fever. He was obliged to go back to town again this morning, and he will not be able to come out again to me. A fever and all his business to boot, is not a matter of joke.

The King is very ailing ; he still has gout in the hand, and, in addition, an attack of inflammation of the lungs, and he does not leave his bed.

Politics are progressing, as you see in the papers. Your country and mine are not quarrelling, and that is the best that I can say. Everybody preaches peace ; everybody desires it. There is, in our opinion, but one measure by which the Sultan would be forced to sue us for peace ; this measure is assuredly far less sanguinary than a pitched battle ; it is further a measure far less hostile than that which your Government has urged France to execute in the Morea ; and, lastly, it is a measure that would end, as we believe, both your complications and ours with regard to the treaty. In a word, the blockade of the Dardanelles would bring the Sultan to accept and subscribe to what on all sides would be deemed an equitable adjustment ; and yet you cry out aloud against any such measure. The Emperor, however, has now ordered his admiral, unless the season were too far advanced, to blockade the Dardanelles, and so the blockade is now doubtless a fact. But I am saying too much or too little, and I get impatient at the miserable means a letter affords when

it comes to explaining all one thinks. It is all, in truth, a very complicated and confused business both here and everywhere else. I am greatly afflicted by the manner in which our war has been carried on. It is evident that, despising our enemy, we were far too little prepared to meet him. This is a grave mistake. We gave ourselves out as strong, and we have ended by showing that we are weak. The Turks gave themselves out for weak, and have ended by proving that they are strong; and this is the unvarnished truth. It remains to be explained why, with the immense army we possess, the reserves have not been more quickly mobilized, and, at all hazard, sent to the front. You see I speak out most frankly to you, my dear lord, but I know you are incapable of abusing my confidence.

Affairs in Ireland appear to me in a most serious condition; but on this matter I wait for light to come to me from you.

The little Queen of Portugal's business is not yet settled. The only thing clear is, that your Government has recognised her as *the* legitimate Queen of Portugal;* further, that they are much embarrassed how to treat her and what to do next. Barbacena, acting in Don Pedro's behalf, has named Palmella the Queen's Ambassador to England. I do not yet know what your Government have said to this. In all cases, I would repeat, I think the next news received from Don Pedro must settle the business. Don Miguel styles her merely 'Infanta,' and this of itself proves

* Donna Maria arrived at Falmouth in the *Imperatriz*, September 24, and was received by a royal salute on entering the harbour, and again saluted when the royal standard of Portugal was hoisted at the main after coming to anchor.

that he disavows the marriage,* for the ceremony at Vienna was performed in the name of the *Queen*; in short, it is all a piece of confusion such as never was before. I am waiting for your letter to arrive, and am as usual very impatient to get it.

Our troops have been making a hostile demonstration below Burgas; they have destroyed a small fort there and some Turkish magazines. The place is only sixty English miles distant from Constantinople, and so the explosions must have been heard in the capital. All this, however, is mere child's play if the great attack is not carried out.

Evening.

I have just received your letter of the 29th, my dear lord.† I assure you that your regular correspondence with me is one of the greatest pleasures I have, and that your letters are always welcome to me. All that you say about our affairs is most true, and you will see by my letter that I am under no illusions on this point. In Austria the rejoicing is very thinly disguised; and over here, too, it is much the same.

Have I told you that it is now said Lord Ellenborough will retain both his posts?‡ and that this is made possible on condition that he gives up the pay of one of them? This, however, appears to me to be merely a provisional arrangement. They are embarrassed whom to choose, and want to delay the choice as long as may be. On the occasion of my visit to Salt Hill, it was said to me (in allusion to a certain one of my correspondents, whose letters I greatly enjoy), 'The prejudice, it is true, is strong; but nothing is

* A marriage by proxy had taken place between Don Miguel and his niece, Donna Maria.

† Missing.

‡ Privy Seal and President of the Board of Control.

impossible.' There was a tone of emphasis about the remark that led me to think this was not spoken unintentionally.*

Good-bye at last, my dear lord ; this is a most lengthy letter. You will note that I do not show in my correspondence the scruples that often beset you in the matter of your visits. It is, however, because, I flatter myself, you enjoy receiving news from me.

Howick,
Oct. 5th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 1st with my usual pleasure—nay, with more, for the freedom with which you write is a proof of confidence, which I value as I ought to do, and which you do me only justice in believing me incapable of abusing.

By the same post come the papers with Lord Aberdeen's letter announcing the blockade of the Dardanelles,† which rather surprised me, as, from what you said, I had concluded that our Government was not disposed to acknowledge it. Indeed, I don't now know whether I am to regard Lord Aberdeen's communication as an acknowledgment of it or not. It is, to use a quotation once applied by Fox to a speech of Mr. Pitt, 'fairly confused and very alarming.' Upon this and upon many other subjects I must wait for the explanations which time, I suppose, will produce. In the meantime, I see nothing through the clouds that surround me but causes for doubt and apprehension.

* Lady Conyngham was doubtless the speaker, and 'the prejudice' referred to the King's well-known aversion to Lord Grey.

† Addressed to Lloyds, dated October 1, and published in the *Times* of the 3rd, stating that the Russian blockade of the Dardanelles was recognised by England.

I have been reading 'The Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo,' which interest me to the greatest degree, and not the less because you recommended them. I cannot help transcribing a passage, which seems in all its parts applicable to the conduct of your affairs in Turkey. Upon hearing the news of the Battle of Talavera, Savary reports the following observations of Napoleon :* 'Ces gens-là ont bien de la présomption ; on m'accorde un peu plus de talent qu'à un autre, et pour livrer bataille à un ennemi que je suis accoutumé à battre je ne crois jamais avoir assez de troupes ; j'appelle à moi tout ce que je puis réunir : eux s'en vont avec confiance attaquer un ennemi qu'ils ne connaissent pas, et n'emmenent que la moitié de leur monde ! Peut-on manœuvrer ainsi ?'

You certainly ought not to have been ignorant of the extent of the resistance that might be opposed to you, and yet you seem to have acted as though you had been totally unacquainted with the power of your enemy.

What you say of the alarming situation of Ireland is quite just. I do not look at it with the less anxiety because it corresponds, *à la lettre*, with all that I long since foretold. I am sanguine in believing that by prompt and decisive measures the mischief may still be averted, but not with the same certainty and ease that would have attended the execution of such measures ten or twenty years ago. No time, however, is to be lost. But here, again, I am at fault, and quite unable to ascertain what are the Duke of Wellington's views. Every day that he delays, the evil is increasing, and he

* 'Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo' (A. Savary). Paris, 1828, 8 vols. : vol. iv., p. 231.

may at last find himself mastered by events which it will no longer be in his power to remedy or confront. The King's prejudices and his present illness may in some degree account for this. But I cannot help doubting whether, with all the difficulties that exist in that quarter, and hampered as he is by his own previous conduct, the Duke is yet prepared, in this eleventh hour, for the adoption of the only policy which can place us in a state of security. Half-measures will be worse than useless, and yet, seeing all I see, I very much fear that we shall have no other.

There are some symptoms, however, which might encourage a different conclusion. The late arrangements, and, more particularly, the non-appointment of a new Privy Seal, seem to indicate the possibility, at least, of further changes. If the Duke has made up his mind to remove the Catholic grievances, he must be aware that the Administration cannot remain as it is. Peel would certainly resign, and he must then look for some accession of strength in the only quarters where it is to be found, viz., the old Opposition, or Huskisson and his friends,* or both. No difficulty would exist in the case I have supposed on the ground of principle, and if the King could be brought to consent, I should not despair of seeing a Government to which I could conscientiously give my support. In saying this I do not look to holding a place in such a Government myself. It would, perhaps, be better that I should not; indeed, I am quite satisfied that I could be more useful, both in assisting to form, and in giving strength to a new Administration, if I am not myself a member of it. But these are

* The Canningites.

matters too extensive to be satisfactorily discussed in a letter, and I regret with you the want of an opportunity of personally conversing on them.

Here is a longer letter than yours. I only wish that it was half as clever or half as agreeable.

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

Howick,

Oct. 8th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I made sure of receiving a letter from you this morning, and have not been disappointed. . . . I believe I once recommended to you Lord Collingwood's Letters. His is the highest naval authority, and at the beginning of the second volume you will see his opinion of the total inefficiency of a blockade of the Dardanelles. In winter it is impossible, and we lost two ships in attempting it in 1807. In summer it is unnecessary, as the N.E. winds and current prevent the introduction of supplies by the straits, which are carried to Constantinople in other ways. From April to September, he says, not a ship entered, and yet no want of anything was experienced in Constantinople.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 8th, 1828.

I have just received your letter of the 5th, my dear lord, and find it full of interest and kindliness.

Your judgment is in all things that of a statesman; my mind feels refreshed by converse with yours, and

that I have a mind is proved to me by seeing how vividly I can appreciate all you tell me. English domestic politics excite my curiosity and interest to the utmost, and it seems impossible that you should not sooner or later be called on to direct these. As long as the English Constitution demands that England shall be governed by *Ministers*, it is difficult to believe that an Administration, which counts *one* Minister only of its composition, should long continue to govern the country. I admit that the head must have the superiority over the rest, but, still, the legs and arms must know how to move, and really in the present case paralysis has gained possession of all the lower members. And is the head capable of all the work alone? I think not. Take office, my dear lord : this is my great desire, and for England's sake. The wish is a disinterested one, for you would not then be to me what you are now ; and I hardly know, on my side, whether I could be so frank and open with you as I am at the present time. We should both be official personages—and that is troublesome—so, at least, let us profit by our present freedom and talk out.

I must tell you something more about Palmella. He wrote to me that he had just received his credentials from Don Pedro as guardian to the little Queen ; the circumstances (Palmella added) being without example in history, it became necessary to adopt measures, authorizing someone to attend to the affairs of that Princess. I imagined all this meant that he, Palmella, was to be her guardian ; but no, it is Don Pedro, as her natural guardian, who sends Palmella his credentials—to act, I presume, as

Ambassador on the part of Donna Maria—and what Palmella deems ‘without example’ is, that these credentials should be given by any other person than the sovereign whom the Ambassador represents. I have not yet seen the little Queen, but I shall see her before long, either officially or at a private audience, and I am curious to know what she is like.

Metternich says, at the present moment, that since Donna Maria is Queen *de jure*, and Don Miguel is King *de facto*, why not marry them together, and then the business would be settled? Palmella, for his part, says that the rightful Queen is not to be married to a usurper, and that the victim shall not freely be given to the Minotaur. Here, at any rate, we have two statesmen who are far from having identical views on this subject. To my mind, Palmella has reason on his side—both for the cause he has espoused and for his own honour.

There is no news from our army ; the retreat from before Shumla appears to be true ; I am made sick at heart by it. If we take Varna, it will only be at the cost of an enormous sacrifice of men, and I could not then rejoice at the success. In short, I feel very sad. My poor brother’s death has taken away all my interest in this war ; still, I cannot help feeling deeply what is so wounding to my national pride.

The passage you have transcribed from the Duc de Rovigo’s work had struck me also as extremely applicable to the present juncture. I am flattered at seeing that our reflections follow the same path. I have been told in confidence a piece of gossip coming from the Austrian Embassy, to the effect that proposals had been made to you to take office as Privy

Seal. The source from which the information came appeared to me reliable, but you tell me nothing of the matter, and so I do not believe it. Further, too, it seemed to me rather a miserable offer. However, the post is still left unfilled. What does the Duke of Wellington want? I can do nothing but re-echo your query. I am most impatient to hear from you. The loss you have just sustained will be a severe blow to you,* however much you may have been prepared for it, and I, as you will understand, can entirely sympathize in your feelings.

Esterhazy is gone to pay his court to *the Princess*, the Emperor of Austria's granddaughter. This is droll enough, seeing that your Ministers have just been to pay their respects to *the Queen*.

Adieu, my dear lord; a thousand most sincere regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Oct. 12th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 8th. Do not wish for me any share of the Government. You entertain much too favourable an opinion of me, if you think I have power to overcome the difficulties of our present situation. There are objects, particularly one, for which I would risk everything—happiness, reputation, even life itself. But all these would be exposed to danger, and, as far as I am personally concerned, those who really have a regard for me ought to wish me to continue in my present situation; and I feel very confident that power will never be offered to me,

* The Earl's brother, Sir George Grey, Bart., died October 3, 1828.

on the only terms that could engage me to leave it. You did quite right in disbelieving the report of the Privy Seal having been offered to me. Never believe anything of the sort that you have not previously heard from me.

Since I wrote to you, I have received all the melancholy details of my poor brother's death. . . .

All my observations tend more and more to make me fear an open rupture between your Government and ours. If you persist in the blockade [of the Dardanelles], I shall have no hope of its being averted. I never knew an occasion on which the public opinion was so unanimous. What the *Times* says is true : all parties agree in feeling this measure as an insult and an injury to their country. It has entirely superseded the interest which before existed with respect to Greece. The Duke of Wellington, whom you thought so much your enemy, has shown, and, I think, properly, the greatest forbearance and moderation. The blustering, restless, controversial spirit of Mr. Canning would have produced very different effects. I trust this policy [of the Duke's], which is now attacked as pusillanimous, will be successful in preserving peace. Let me intreat you to employ all your influence for the same purpose. Surely you have at present enough on your hands, without involving yourselves in a quarrel with us.

Perhaps Metternich's solution of the Portuguese difficulty would be the best. It was by a similar measure that the civil wars of York and Lancaster were terminated here. I conceive that Palmella may not think it would assist his interests. But to what other chance can he look ? He surely cannot expect

us to interfere by force to establish the claim of his little urchin Queen?

What do you hear of the King? The pains taken by some of the papers to contradict the reports of his illness have the effect of making me believe it to be serious.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 15th, 1828.

I have just received your letter of the 12th, my dear lord. I must confess myself incapable of understanding how the exercise of a right which every belligerent Power possesses can possibly lead to a war between us. Your Government did not take this view of the measure when we recently announced it to them. Your Ministers are not frightened by the newspapers, and I do not see why these should prescribe to us any rule of conduct. I think the Duke of Wellington will wait for a better cause than this before declaring hostilities against us, and we shall not afford him any valid pretext. You desire we should make peace—but, my dear lord, it is an impossibility at present; it is not when Russia has suffered a reverse that she can do this. We hope for news of the surrender of Varna. Our troops, in spite of what the newspapers said, have not retired from before Shumla; they are still there, but are suffering much from want of forage. This is the latest piece of news we have received. The Sultan refuses to become

more reasonable to-day, as regards the Treaty of London, than he was the first moment after it was signed.

The affairs of the Queen of Portugal remain in suspense, and will remain so till the answer arrives from Don Pedro—that is to say, about the choice of a residence. Don Pedro's act of abdication is complete, and the Portuguese refugees in England and elsewhere have tendered their oath of allegiance to the Queen. Don Pedro at present keeps the guardianship of his daughter in his own hands, but they think he will ultimately have to delegate this. I think no one will need to meddle in the matter of setting the little Queen on her throne, for you may be sure that no long time will pass before a reaction sets in in Portugal; and then Don Miguel will not be King very much longer.

Your King's health is certainly on the mend, for he is taking walks. I had a long conversation one of these last days with the Duke of Wellington. We get on capitally together, and quite agree about all that has lately taken place. I find he is looking older, though he is very well in health. I think there never was a Minister more indifferent to the expression of public opinion than he is; it will never make him move in the smallest degree from what he sees right to do. Whether this be good or ill, you know best.

The affair about Prince Gustavus is beginning to wear rather a grave aspect. Even his marriage is put off thereby. The King of the Netherlands has declared that it was not his business to decide about the title of his son-in-law, and that in the public announcements he would style him *the son of the late King of Sweden*. King Bernadotte is satisfied at this,

but Gustavus is not, and the foreign Courts find the periphrasis somewhat lengthy. Hence it follows that Gustavus will only consent to marry as *Prince of Sweden*, and now the various Cabinets of Europe are to meet in conference to decide on some title similar to that of the Duc de Reichstadt, etc., etc. My Government backs up the opinion of the present King of Sweden; yours does ditto. Austria urges the Prince to stand to his rights. I do not know as yet what the French say. The Duke of Wellington wished the conference to meet in London. The King of Sweden put his veto on its meeting at Vienna, seeing that the Court there is far too partially disposed towards the Prince. Metternich proposes the conference should be held in Paris. Meanwhile Princess Marianne is waiting for her husband.

All this that I have been telling you is in strict confidence. My husband went yesterday to pay his respects to the Queen of Portugal, and I am going to-day.

Good-bye, my dear lord, I have not another word of news to add to my letter. Yours are always of the greatest possible pleasure to me; and, further, they lead me to believe that it is with a like feeling that you receive mine.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

Oct. 19th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 16th.

Nothing in it has given me greater pleasure than the account of your having had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington, with which you appear to have

been satisfied. I hope I may augur from it that the danger of a serious misunderstanding with your Court, which I have lately been led to consider as too probable, diminishes. The Duke certainly is as little disposed as any Minister I ever knew to direct his measures solely with a view to popular effect ; and he possesses a degree of power and influence which enables him, more than any man of the present times, to resist popular clamour. But no Minister in this country, or perhaps in any other, even the most despotic, can make himself independent of popular opinion, when excited by a strong sense of national honour and interest, and directed by views of which even wise and moderate men must approve. Whether this will be found to be the case in the present instance, I will not take upon myself absolutely to pronounce ; but I confess I see strong objections to our acquiescence in your blockade, which are not at all removed by the general plea which you urge in its defence. I will only add that I, of all men, am least likely to be influenced by the newspapers. But there are many of them which are not to be considered as influencing, but as taking their tone from, the public feeling. More especially the *Times*, which, being conducted without the least regard to principles of any kind, and solely with a view of an extension of its sale, may in its frequent changes be taken in general as no bad barometer of the general sentiment.

The news of the attack on Varna seems long in coming. Take care you do not persevere too long, when even the surrender of the place may be of little real advantage, and a failure not less fatal than that of Napoleon at Moscow.

If the Portuguese people send Miguel about his business, and proclaim the young Queen, well and good. But I had understood that Palmella justified his flight from Oporto by alleging that he found the general feeling of the country against him—a discovery which he made rather late, and which would have been more useful when it might have prevented our foolish expedition. All I contend for is, that it is for the Portuguese to decide upon their own Government. If they take Donna Maria, so much the better. If they prefer Miguel, perhaps they make choice of a king quite as good as they deserve.

Of all the subjects for a general conference amongst the Powers of Europe that I ever heard of, the question of the Prince of Sweden's title seems to me one of the most ridiculous. We have acknowledged Bernadotte's title, and I suppose we shall continue to do so. For the rest, let him take care of himself; and, personally, I cannot say that I feel any interest in his favour.

I expect the Duke of Sussex here on Thursday.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 22nd, 1828.

I received your letter of the 19th, my dear lord, last night, but we shall need something more than writing to each other to come to any understanding on the subject to which your letter principally refers. I would repeat once again, I cannot conceive how England and Russia should find cause for quarrel in a matter concerning which none will deny our having

the full right to act as we are now doing. It is self-evident that when one is at war one tries to do the enemy the greatest possible harm. You have admitted the fact of our being at war, without, on that account, making any declarations of hostility against us ; and you ought not now to demur at the necessary consequences which follow. If you say in this particular instance that your Government had already announced that we relinquished our belligerent rights in the Mediterranean, I would remind you (you personally, I mean) of what I wrote you word anent the Speech at the close of the Session. For, so far from this being a resolution which your Government had constrained us to adopt (as was to be inferred from the tenor of the King's speech), it was in truth a purely spontaneous act on our part. Hence we had a perfect right to resume our character of belligerent wherever it might suit us so to do. This is a fact the Duke of Wellington has admitted to me very frankly. Probably the measure may be a hindrance on your commerce, but we shall do our best to carry it into effect with every possible precaution and consideration. By what turn of logic can you attempt to prove that this will bring on a war between us? If you were to me an unknown person, I should say that Metternich had gained you over to his way of thinking, for it is he who has prompted and is urging on this view with might and main ; and I will confess to you that, with the natural inclination towards him Lord Aberdeen displays, and the great disposition the Duke of Wellington has always had for adopting the errors of Austria's political views, I am not without some apprehension lest the idea should be brought to

bear evil fruit. Further, pray explain to me what interest you can have in picking a quarrel with us? You could do us some harm, but show me, if you can, what possible gain England would reap thereby? You could not take our colonies, for the excellent reason that we have none. Our commerce would suffer, but yours would be none the better for this; and would you not be brought into contest with the nations who might refuse to bear patiently the interruption of their commercial relations with Russia? I think, of all pieces of foolishness, the greatest would be for England and Russia to find themselves at war. Too often, however, in this world small passions have brought about great evils, and in all Europe I do not see a single man at the head of affairs of a sufficiently commanding intellect, to bring the fools to reason. I have said it once before, and I repeat it now: take office, my dear lord—but then you will not. And this last is the plain truth; for, if you only wished it, you could become Premier.

Lebzeltern, the most intriguing and clever of all Metternich's people, has arrived in England to demand, publicly and *officially* on the part of the Emperor of Austria, that the little Queen should be delivered over to him. Your Government backs up this demand. What Barbacena will do I know not; I only know the man from a five minutes' conversation on the staircase; but during those five minutes he took occasion to make me understand abundantly that he was such a great man, a man of such high character, and such a man of iron, that I think him very capable of yielding the point. Happily, in all this affair we are only amused spectators of the play. I have been to pay

my respects to the little Queen. She is just what you call in English 'a very fine child'—tall, well featured (with the exception of the mouth), good complexion and hair, and very well mannered; further, she seems both intelligent and good-humoured. In giving audience she is extremely sedate, but they tell me that, when completely at her ease, she is gay and bright. She appears to play her part as though she knew it thoroughly. Barbacena is director-in-chief. The Palmellas count for nothing in the business.

Our information from the seat of war is limited to what the Berlin newspapers tell us, and they are the only ones that have authentic news about the campaign. The struggle has become more severe, but we shall maintain our ground. We are still occupying the position before Shumla, as from the first day of the siege. Silistria and Varna are being bombarded.

Adieu, my dear lord. I have nothing more to tell you, except to assure you of my sincere and constant friendship.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

Oct. 26th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have this morning received your letter, and have time only to write a short one in return. The Duke of Sussex has been here since Thursday last, and has taken up so much of my time that the hour of the post is almost arrived. He really is very good-humoured, and not at all *exigeant* as to attention. If you can engage him in relating anecdotes of the Court, he is very amusing. His accounts of the King are that he is very much better. But I hear a different

version from other quarters, and my own conclusions, from what I can collect and observe, are very unfavourable.

What would I not give to produce an entire agreement in our interests and opinions! In one thing, however, I do entirely agree with you. There could be nothing, in my opinion, more contrary to the true policy of both, than any rupture between your Government and ours. I would go to the utmost limit that the honour and interest of the country would permit to prevent it. But, then, the same feeling, with a corresponding good disposition and moderation even in the assertion of legitimate pretensions, must prevail on both sides. The question of the blockade would lead to too long a discussion for a letter.

Your account of the manner in which your belligerent rights in the Mediterranean were waived is certainly very different from the colour given to that proceeding by the terms of the King's speech. But whether it was gratuitous or not, I think it equally imposed on you the obligation of not retracting it without previous communication with our Government. This was due in common courtesy from one Government to another, to say nothing of the interests that might be affected in consequence of enterprises undertaken, and commercial arrangements made, in reliance on your declaration. This certainly was not the case, if orders were sent to your Admiral before any communication was made to Lord Aberdeen. But the blockade itself, as I understand it, is carried much beyond what you have asserted to be your right, and which we have ever admitted in a similar case. Suppose that during the French war we had established a blockade

at Gibraltar, and declared that no vessel bound to any French port in the Mediterranean should pass the Straits, what would you or America have said to such a pretension?

There are also other circumstances arising out of the particular circumstances of the war and the Treaty of London of July 6, which make me think you ought not to have taken this measure, and that the public feeling against it is not very unnatural. But enough of a subject of which I fear we may hereafter have to hear too much, if the two Governments cannot, during the period that must elapse before the commencement of the next campaign, come to a more friendly understanding with each other than appears lately to have prevailed between them.

It is quite true that I have no wish to be Minister. But I thought you had known too much, both of the power of the King and of the state of parties, and of public opinion in this country, to imagine that, even if I had the will, I could succeed in giving it effect, except by a most dishonourable concession of the principles and opinions which I hold from a conviction that it is only by acting on them that I could render any service to my country.

. . . Here, after all, is a long letter, but written in such a hurry that I fear it will hardly be intelligible.

The Duke leaves us to-morrow.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

The Fall of Varna—Lebzelter and Barbacena—Russia and the Blockade of the Dardanelles—Prince Gustavus and the King of the Netherlands—Brazil and Don Pedro—Details of the Surrender of Varna; Yussuf Pasha—Small Chances of Peace—The *Te Deum* at Varna—The New Greek State—The King's Health—The Emperor's Resolutions, and the Continuance of the War—His Journey Back to Petersburg—Death of the Empress-Mother; Details of her Illness—Hopes for Peace—The King's Recovery—Lord Strangford—The Portuguese Refugees at Plymouth—Austria Arming—Lord Bingham and Yussuf Pasha—Don Miguel's Accident—The Catholic Question—Lord Grey's Views on the Eastern Question in June, 1823—His Views at the Present Date—The Holy Alliance—The Siege of Silistria Abandoned—The Recent Action of Austria in trying to Form a Coalition against Russia—George IV.'s Reception of Donna Maria—The French Ministry—The Murders in Edinburgh—The Duke of Wellington's Letter to Dr. Curtis—The Portuguese Refugees about to Sail for Terceira—Prince Metternich—Russian Preparations for the Next Campaign—The Catholic Question and the Duke of Wellington—Windsor Castle—The King's Health—Lord Anglesey's Recall—M. de la Ferronnays—Letter from Lord Ponsonby—The Duke of Northumberland to be Viceroy of Ireland—Queen Donna Maria at Bushey Park—Prince Polignac to be Minister of Foreign Affairs—The Duke of Northumberland and the Catholics—Political Position of Lord Grey; Madame de Lieven's Advice—Arrival of Count Matuscewitz—Lord Grey's Views of the State of Home Politics, and of the Eastern Question—The Scandal about the Duke of Cumberland—The King's Speech and the Catholic Emancipation Bill—Mr. Peel—Arrival of Lord Grey in London.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Oct. 29th, 1828.

I have not yet received your letter, my dear lord, but I write to you none the less. Yesterday came the news of the taking of Varna.* The account reached

* Varna surrendered October 11.

us *via* Hamburg, and though the news is not as yet officially confirmed, we believe it true, for all the details given bear the character of its being authentic. I am most impatient for the despatches. The foreign newspapers have for some time past been treating us to such a succession of lies that it will be rather curious to see how they will swallow down the very summary refutation that we now give them. Varna being in our hands will render our basis of operations more easy, and as a basis Varna is all that can be desired. I am above all happy that the place had not to be taken by general assault.

I wrote you word last week what I then knew about Lebzeltern's mission. I saw him yesterday ; his language is greatly altered. Ten days ago he said to one of the Attachés of our Embassy : ' I have come to demand, in the name of my master the Emperor, that the Queen of Portugal shall be delivered up to him.' Yesterday he said to me : ' I have fulfilled the object of my mission. I came here to learn the reason why the destination of the Queen's voyage had been changed, and now that I know the reason I am returning the day after to-morrow to Vienna.' The fact appears to be that Barbacena has turned an equally deaf ear to the remonstrances of your Ministers and to the cajoleries of Lebzeltern, and that he sheltered himself in both cases by replying that he must await later instructions from his master. He has just taken leave of the royal hospitalities, and is removing the little Queen down to the country, where he intends for the present she is to reside. The King has sent word he will receive the Queen of Portugal as soon as he goes to Windsor Castle. He received Esterhazy and Lebzeltern at a

morning audience the same day he held the Council, but he did not keep them to dinner.

The last news received from Don Pedro (which comes with the account of peace having been made between Brazil and Buenos Ayres) tends to the conclusion that he will approve of what Barbacena has done. Don Pedro at that time had had news of Don Miguel's usurpation, and declares that he will enter into no agreement with the usurper. This does not promise well for the success of Lord Strangford's mission.

At this moment, my dear lord, I receive your letter of the 26th. You are right: the question of the blockade is too long to be discussed by letter; and then, too, I see you have forgotten some of the facts I mentioned to you. It would, again, take too long to cite you instances. I must, however, pause a moment on the comparison you would make between the blockade of the Dardanelles and a hypothetical blockade of the Straits of Gibraltar. In the first case we close up a sea which only directly concerns the commerce of the two belligerent Powers. In the second (hypothetical) case, the commerce of a number of neutral States would in addition also be gravely affected. Hence, the two cases are not on a par. With this exception, however, our present blockade is strictly within the principles you lay down, and, furthermore, your principles have been recognised by us. But enough of this, and as we cannot agree, let us talk of other things.

Prince Gustavus of Sweden has written to the King of the Netherlands to inform him that, unless his Majesty be prepared to give him the title of Prince of Sweden in all such documents as have to

be drawn up prior to the marriage—that being a title which it is his intention never to renounce—he (Prince Gustavus) must give up the honour of aspiring to be the King's son-in-law. The King of the Netherlands dares not do otherwise than act up to the orders of the English Government, and so the marriage is now broken off.*

I saw the Swedish Minister not long ago. He is quite puffed up with pride, and has now entirely forgotten his '*Sinking Fund*,' about which he talked so much to you. However, he is not yet satisfied. He wants the conference at Paris to give a decision about the title. All this is droll enough, for it is very easy to give a decision; but if the young man be obstinate he will go on saying 'No' till the Day of Judgment, and I do not see what means we have of coercing him.

Your King's health is now thoroughly restored. He dines and passes the evening in company.

Good-bye, my dear lord; I think I had still something more to tell you, but I am interrupted, and must now close my letter. I wish we had received our despatches, in order to be *quite* sure about Varna.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

Nov. 2nd, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter of the 29th, though dated from London, only reached me yesterday at the same time with the London papers of the 30th, which brought the confirmation of the fall of Varna. This is, in all views,

* Prince Gustavus ultimately married Louise Amélie, daughter of Charles, Grand-Duke of Baden.

a most important event for you, and for the general peace of Europe. You can now treat with honour, and are, I trust, disposed to make peace on moderate terms. If it produces this effect I shall rejoice sincerely in your success.

I am always ready to put aside any question on which our opinions do not agree, and on this of the blockade I shall be very anxious to avoid any further discussion either with you or elsewhere. But I must just remark that I was perfectly aware of the distinction which you have taken between the Mediterranean and the seas beyond the Dardanelles—with respect to which, however, there is something more to be said—and, therefore, I limited our supposed interruption of ships passing the Straits of Gibraltar to such as were bound to *French ports*—this made the cases precisely similar.

Has the young Prince of Sweden judged well for his own objects in insisting on a formal acknowledgment of his title? If he had accepted the compromise afforded by the King of the Netherlands, it would not have impaired his means of obtaining what appears to be his object if a favourable opportunity had occurred; on the contrary, by the powerful connections which he would have formed by his marriage, it might have materially assisted him. He now appears to me to have placed himself in a situation which greatly increases the difficulties in his way. But the question as the subject of a general conference between the Powers of Europe seems to me to be perfectly ridiculous, and I hope that, at all events, we shall not interfere in it.

Your letter found me in a moment of the greatest

happiness, my son* having just arrived. . . . He came home in the *Briton* with the bearer of the despatches to Barbacena. He says that the Brazilians are exceedingly jealous of Don Pedro's interference in Portugal, and that if he takes any hostile measures to enforce his own rights, or those which he supposed to have transferred to his daughter, he will run a great risk of losing the Brazils. The general expectation at Rio was that she would be recalled.

I hear that Halford confirms your report of the King, and says that he has not been so well for seven years, *ce qui prouve un peu trop*. If there is any truth in this statement, the King will, of course, come to town to despatch the business which has so long required his presence.

There never was such weather as we are enjoying. As the campaign will probably now finish, and your anxieties be suspended for a time, how happy I should be if we were within a distance that might tempt you to seek a little relaxation in this comfortable place and pure air!

God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Nov. 5th, 1828.

I have nothing to add, my dear lord, to the news from the seat of war, which you will have read in the papers; what is said there is exact. Yussuf

* The Honourable Frederick William Grey, R.N., from South America, after an absence of three years.

Pasha* was the first to surrender, and the Capitan Pasha† followed suit the next day. Varna was no longer tenable. The garrison found themselves reduced from 27,000 men to 6,000. The town is a heap of ruins. Omar Vrione‡ ran away during the night of October 11 and 12. He was pursued the following day by Prince Eugene,§ who captured his baggage. The Emperor returns to Petersburg. The siege of Silistria is to be pushed on rapidly. I imagine our troops will abandon their position before Shumla, for it is not possible to winter on those heights. We must see whether Hussein Pasha will at last be tempted out of Shumla; this would give us a great chance. In every case, when, next year, hostilities recommence, the advantages will be on our side.

As for peace, do not dream of it, unless the Sultan should sue it of us. We can allow the intervention of no other Power in a question which so directly regards us alone. Further, the Sultan would be acting very much at variance with his usual character were he to make the slightest advance towards us; and hence hostilities will have to recommence.

M. de Metternich will intrigue as much as he can this winter, but he will be losing his time and pains. M. de Lebzeltern is to have his audience and take leave of the Queen of Portugal to-day, and then starts for Vienna forthwith. Don Pedro, in the latest communication received from him, orders Barbacena to

* Second in command at Varna. Yussuf was always accused of having accepted a bribe. He afterwards lived at Odessa, on a pension from the Russian Government.

† The Commander-in-Chief at Varna, afterwards made Grand Vizier.

‡ Omar Vrione had been sent by the Sultan to the relief of Varna with 8,000 men from the garrison of Shumla.

§ Prince Eugene of Württemberg, a general in the Russian service.

leave Vienna, should he chance to be at that capital on the receipt of the said letter. The step Barbacena therefore took, in not proceeding thither, has been fully justified. I have not seen the Duke of Wellington again. He promised me that he would come and dine with us the first day he should pass in town. He has been there several days now, but has not referred to the invitation. As perhaps he thinks it well not to give himself out as on dining terms with us, I let the matter rest, till such time as an English Minister can, without thought of compromising himself, be a guest at the Russian Embassy. Lady Jersey has asked me twice already to come and stay at Middleton, but on both occasions at times when she was alone there. I must confess to you that the idea of a *tête-à-tête* with her in the country froze me to the marrow ; so I sent excuses for not going. To-day she writes again to ask me to come, this time to meet some people, and I do not now want to refuse. It appears she has laid a wager she will force me to come down there ; well, it is easy to gratify her when I do not dislike going. Why are you not there also ? I should not then be so difficult to get.

On October 12 the Emperor ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung by the Greek priests at Varna. Our troops were present, and with them were 3,000 men of the Turkish cavalry. I have seen a letter from one of the foreign Ambassadors, who was present at the ceremony, and who describes it as a most singular spectacle.

When the Capitan Pasha was brought before the Emperor, he said to him : ' May God bless your Majesty, for having spared the shedding of men's blood ! ' Our soldiers had greatly desired that a general

assault should be ordered. The Emperor, however, always opposed the idea, being convinced that the fortress would surrender without this.

I have been awaiting your letter, my dear lord, before closing mine, and at this moment I receive it; many thanks, therefore. What you ask about a possible peace, I have already answered. My wishes are identical with yours, but as I have higher pretensions than you have, we cannot come to an agreement on this point. To you it would be a matter of indifference were the Emperor to go back from what he announced in his declaration of war, but a Russian cannot see things in this light.

How meekly the Turks have taken the news of the expedition to the Morea! I am charmed at it. At least, we have here one matter clearly carried out in the sense indicated by the London Treaty. The most difficult point, however, remains for our Plenipotentiaries to determine, namely, as to the boundaries of the new Greek State, the form of government it is to enjoy, and what are to be the relations between it and Turkey. This will take more than the labours of a Hercules to accomplish. I greatly fear that your Government wish *the least possible* for Greece. Good policy, however, ought to make you wish to set up the new State of Greece so firmly as to enable her to maintain herself, and do credit to your protection. And to accomplish this, it now needs but a stroke of the pen.

Good-bye, my dear lord, and once again my most sincere regards. Why are you 300 miles away? and why is my husband a man of conferences?

Howick,

Nov. 9th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

My pleasure in receiving your letter would have been perfect, had it not been for the drawback of what you say about making peace. The fall of Varna has made a great alteration in your tone, and if you act up to your determination of prosecuting the war against the Turks, without admitting of any intervention, I shall have no hope that the peace of Europe can be preserved.

Are you not too suspicious in attributing to the Duke of Wellington a design in not paying you his promised visit, when it may have been purely accidental? He surely has enough on his hands to occupy every moment of his time, and it is not improbable that his embarrassments may be increased by the state of the King's health, which may be either the necessary cause, or a convenient pretext, for avoiding explanations on many points which press for a decision. You will see by this that I do not believe the assurances of his Majesty's recovery. The continuance of his confinement, and the anxiety that is manifested to prevent any information that can be depended upon from reaching the public, must necessarily give rise to a suspicion that he is worse than is generally believed, or, perhaps, than he really is. But I confess that my opinion of him is very unfavourable. I hear that he is immensely reduced in size and weight—an alarming thing for a person of his age. You may remember that the first appearances of the Duke of York's illness were similar. The Duke of Clarence, too, is, I hear, as Castlereagh said of Europe, 'in a very unsatisfactory

state.' If both should go before a Regency is settled, we shall, with all the other questions, both foreign and domestic, that are likely to arise, have enough to occupy us in the Parliament. Where shall I go to escape the turmoil?

We have had the house full of company for the last fortnight. Amongst the rest (for two days), Lord and Lady Tankerville. She is violently anti-Russian (to say the truth, I find most people are so), and calls the Turks 'Poor dears.' She went yesterday; and her little Lord and Lady Emma, as they travel separately, this morning. . . . How I should like to meet you at Middleton, or anywhere; but nowhere so well as here, where, notwithstanding what I have said, I should not be entirely without the hope of making your time pass rather agreeably. But fate, distance, and conferences forbid, and I can only look to the pleasure of seeing you on my return to London, which is still a long way off. The only thing that can reconcile me to the delay is, that in the meantime the questions on which we are not likely to agree may have taken a more satisfactory form. . . .

God bless you, dearest Princess. Believe me ever,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

The Priory,
Nov. 12th, 1828.

I have not as yet received your letter, my dear lord, but I begin writing to you none the less. We arrived here yesterday, and go away to-morrow. The Duke of Wellington spent the day here; I can only

tell you of his cold, for, though we had much talk together, I comprehended nothing but disjointed words, ideas remaining matter of guess-work ; I have, therefore, no news to send you from that quarter. He was very attentive and courteous, but most reserved on politics.

My husband has received despatches of a very ancient date, written before the fall of Varna. They were kept back for a fortnight in Austria, and had been opened there, on the plea of sanitary precautions, as is certified by the notifications added in German on the backs of the letters. Prussia has no fear of the plague, for by that route despatches reach my husband on the seventeenth day from Varna. To return, however, to these despatches, which bear date of the 9th of October. They inform my husband that the Emperor had sent orders for a considerable body of men to be recruited ; he is resolved to carry on the war by every means in his power, and only to lay down arms when the conditions named in the declaration of war have been fulfilled. The Emperor at the same time announces that, however long the war may last, not a soldier the less will be stationed at the various military outposts of the empire. Apparently it is on this last paragraph that the Austrian meditations were so long concentrated. The news, in short, gives me the greatest pleasure, proving to me the constancy and energy of the Emperor, and how firmly he is resolved to obtain the peace which he deems requisite. With these despatches are enclosed seven or eight war bulletins, from which it is evident that not for a single moment have our troops quitted their positions before Shumla—that they have always kept the offensive before Silistria—and that the successes which were reported have, in truth,

been gained in Walachia. We are expecting 'also before long the news of the surrender of Silistria.

Lord Aberdeen is very ready to discuss matters, and very willing to listen. Although I think he is most obstinately attached to his own opinions; his society, however, is agreeable to me, and I like him. With the Duke of Wellington one can never have any discussion, for his opinions are decrees; this is a habit he has taken, or that has been conceded to him (I know not which), and I am evidently not predestined to break him of it.

Do you know, my dear lord, I begin to doubt with you on the matter of the King's health. (At this moment I have received your letter of the 9th.) They tell me his size is diminished by some *feet* of circumference, and this is a bad symptom. If any misfortune were to come of it, I know well that I should be one of those who would deplore his loss the most. The Duke of Clarence, too, is far from well. The Emperor was to have arrived at St. Petersburg on the 26th of last month. Your Ambassador comes home on leave—so, at least, Lord Aberdeen supposes—for he had been given the choice of doing this, or going back to Petersburg. A thousand thanks for your letter, my dear lord. I write to you while talking is going on all around me, and this confuses me. Esterhazy is now getting on well, but it is very decidedly a broken leg.

Good-bye, my dear lord, I have really neither a minute nor an idea left; the coming of your letter is always for me the most agreeable incident of the week—so pray continue.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Nov. 16th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your letter from the Priory, which gives me, however, little to remark upon, after repeating my fears, from what you say, that if the war continues you will have more enemies than the Turks to contend with in the next campaign.

I approve very much of the Duke of Wellington's silence on all matters of State—particularly at public dinners. It is much more becoming the character of a Minister, and more consistent with his duty, than the *fanfaronnades* of Mr. Canning. I have but a slight personal acquaintance with Lord Aberdeen. This, and his occasional appearances in the House of Lords, have afforded me very insufficient means of forming any opinion of his character which I could pronounce with confidence. Upon the whole my conclusion is favourable. I should think him a discreet and sensible man, rather slow, perhaps, and not without conceit—likely to act cordially and tractably under the Duke of Wellington, and a safe man, which is better than a man of excursive genius and ill-regulated passions, in his present situation.*

The mystery continues, and therefore my suspicions on the subject of the King's health continue also, notwithstanding the assurance given at the East India dinner. Such a reduction in size as is talked of seems hardly possible unless he has undergone the operation of tapping, which could not, I think, be concealed. . . .

We are now reduced to our family circle, and the

* As Foreign Secretary.

most agreeable moment in my week is that in which I receive your letter.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Nov. 18th, 1828.

I am writing to you, my dear lord, a day in advance of the time agreed on between us, because I set out to-morrow early for Middleton. It also is to be understood that I shall not have received your letter before this will be despatched, but there is no help for it. I have had a few lines from my son since the Emperor's return to Petersburg. The Czar had arrived at the capital alone with my brother, having accomplished the journey of about 2,000 English miles in less than six days. This is what comes of being an autocrat. Our army was taking up position between Varna and Silistria, having Bazarjik for the centre and Varna for headquarters. The surrender of Silistria was expected shortly. Shumla has been abandoned for the moment. This is all I know in the matter of military news.

By the way, should you have given credit, as many have done, to the report that we gained over Yussuf Pasha by a bribe, here is a fact that will give a contradiction to that piece of news.* Michael Woronzow writes word that he (Yussuf) is one of the greatest and richest grandees among the Turks. Our finances, therefore, would have to be in a very prosperous condition indeed for us to be able to indemnify him for

* See above, note to p. 180.

what he has lost. Lord Heytesbury has after all gone back to Petersburg.

By what I hear from Windsor the King is in most excellent health, and I had rather believe this than the contrary report. I met the Duke of Clarence driving yesterday in Windsor Park. Have I told you that the Duke of Cumberland does not, for certain, come back before the month of May?

My husband is unable to go down with me to Middleton; he is more than ever taken up by the conferences. The Duke of Wellington, too, stays up in town, for he has to attend them.

Do you know Lord Clifden? I have recently made his acquaintance. All I know of him as yet is that he is very polite, and that, to begin with, is a way of pleasing me, but more than this is necessary in the long run. I have no news to send you to-day, my dear lord. We are still awaiting the arrival of this eternal courier, who does not appear. I hope to receive by him news of my family that will interest me greatly, namely, what is become of my poor brother's children.

Good-bye, my dear lord; forgive me this short letter, and avenge yourself nobly by writing me a long one in return.

Yours ever,

[On November 5 the Empress-Mother died at Petersburg. She was the widow of the murdered Emperor Paul, and mother of Alexander I., Constantine and Nicholas. The Empress Marie was born Princess Sophia Dorothea of Würtemberg, being sister of the late king of that country and of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, who died in 1780. Lord Grey writes on the 23rd, to condole with the Princess on the news arriving of the sad event.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

26th Nov., 1828.

I went and stayed some days at Middleton, my dear lord, and it was there I heard the sad news which now fills up the measure of the many afflictions it has pleased Heaven to lay on me in these past months. Surely I must often have spoken to you of the Empress-Mother, and mentioned her many acts of piety and virtue, and the love with which the whole Empire looked up to her. I have often told you of all that I myself owe to her for the motherly kindness with which she treated me from my earliest infancy, and of the relations of extreme intimacy that existed between us. I loved her as a child loves a tender mother, and to lose her was an idea that had never entered my mind. Her health and her constitution were alike excellent ; and yet, in a moment, she was taken from us. With her disappears the Russia of the last century. Her death is even a greater loss to the Empire than was that of the Emperor Alexander. She was a Sister of Charity enthroned as Empress, from whom all good and useful deeds took their spring. She was the centre round whom gathered all the members of the Imperial Family and all that was great and noble throughout the Empire. You can hardly conceive all that Russia loses by her death. I am told that the Emperor is inconsolable. He remained kneeling at his mother's bedside during the four last hours of her life, and he had not left her room for an instant during the few short preceding days of her illness. How thankful he must now be at having hastened his return

journey, and arranged it so as to arrive at Petersburg on the very day of his mother's birthday! Alas! he already found her ill and confined to her bed. . . .

It is the Emperor's wish that the same funeral honours be paid to his mother as were performed at the death of the Empress Catherine. The body will lie in state during six weeks. Everyone, of no matter what degree, will, during that period, be allowed to come and kiss her hand. The Emperor and the members of the Imperial Family will acquit themselves of this act of filial piety twice daily during these six weeks. What a tragedy it all is! If I had been in Petersburg, the duties of my place would have compelled me to watch day and night beside the body, and I do not think I should have survived the ordeal.

I have no news to tell you to-day, for, in truth, everything is put out of my recollection by the sorrow I suffer. I think the account of the taking of Silistria is true.* We are making great preparations against the opening of the next campaign; and the campaign will certainly take place unless the Turks sue us for peace. It is only from them *direct* that we shall listen to any proposals. If they be willing to carry out the conditions laid down in the letter Count Nesselrode sent before the declaration of war to the Grand Vizier, and which was made public at the time,† peace would be made at this very moment. As, however, the character of the Sultan hardly holds out a likelihood of any conciliatory measures, the war will go on, and the next campaign will have for the Turks a different result

* The news was not true. On the 10th of November the Russians were forced to abandon the siege of Silistria, and in recrossing the Danube suffered the loss of most of their baggage.

† Dated St. Petersburg, 14th/26th of April, 1828.

to what the last has had. Meantime, our allies have no right to complain. If last summer they admitted the justice of our declaring war, they cannot now contest our right to go on with it. It will only be when we begin to violate the solemn promises we have made that they will have the right of censure—and that day will never come.

The King is certainly in better health, but I learn from a letter lately received from Lady Conyngham that up to now he has been very unwell. She tells me not a word of any move to Windsor Castle, as had been announced, and I doubt his going there.

The Empress's death was not as sudden as I had at first imagined. She fell ill on October 20, after a day spent in inspecting the Institute of Commerce. Two days later she rose from her bed to go to the Cathedral for the service in celebration of the taking of Varna. On her return to the Palace the fever came on again, and the symptoms became alarming. They bled her, but too late. On November 2 she lost consciousness, but regained it on the 4th; when, feeling that she was dying, she received, at her own request, the Holy Communion. She then gave her benediction to the assembled Imperial Family, and expired in the arms of the Emperor and Empress at two o'clock on the morning of the 5th.

Adieu, my dear lord; I feel very sad. Write to me and pity me.

Yours ever,

Howick,
Nov. 30th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 26th. I can well estimate the severity of the loss you have sustained, and the justice of your grief both on private and public grounds. . . .

How many bad omens, how many misfortunes have attended the commencement of this war! How many more may there not be produced by its continuance? Think of this, and let your feelings become more pacific. Surely you are strong enough, and have terminated the campaign with sufficient success, not to fear that the allowing a mediation for peace, on fair and honourable terms, could be construed into an acknowledgment of weakness or fear. May there not be imputations on the other side equally injurious to you, and not more unreasonable? and though the superiority of your armies may make you confident of success against the Turks in the field of battle, still you have great difficulties to overcome in the country, the climate, the resolution and the courage of a brave people if driven to despair. I say nothing of the possibilities of support from other Powers, if you push your pretensions too far, or of the internal difficulties you may experience from the expense and loss of a protracted war. And does not the event which you are now deploring add to the dangers in the event of any reverse? Are you quite sure, that bond of union being gone, that internal jealousies and dissensions may not arise, or that a favourable opportunity may not give a new excitement to personal interests and ambition, which probably were not very willingly

abandoned?*

 Think of this, and let me entreat you to use all your interest to promote the conclusion of a peace on terms which, under the present circumstances of the war, the more moderate they are, will only be the more honourable to you.

I cannot doubt that the King has entirely recovered from the effects of his late illness. I had occasion to write the other day to Sir H. Halford,† and in his answer, though I had said nothing of the King, he gave me what, I have no doubt, is a correct account of the state of his health. His account was, that in September he had a very severe attack of gout, accompanied by so much inflammation that it was necessary to bleed him again and again. That, notwithstanding this depletion, the natural strength of his constitution was such as to maintain a vigorous and healthy appearance of gout. That he was now quite well, and, in Sir Henry's opinion, more free from disorder of every kind than he had seen him for seven years, and his legs as fine as they were thirty years ago—these are his words. . . .

Are there any hopes that Don Miguel's accident may prove fatal?‡ . . .

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—I hope you have read the account of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench on Lord Strangford's prosecution of the *Sun* newspaper for a libel. It is a pleasant thing to have had his applica-

* On the part of the Grand Duke Constantine. † George IV.'s physician.

‡ Sunday, November 9, Don Miguel was thrown out of his carriage near the Palace of Quelus. He fractured his thigh, but the accident did not prove fatal.

tion refused (the charge against him being, that he had no regard to truth), because he had not been able to deny the facts on which that charge was founded !* It is in the *Sun* of the 28th [November, 1828].

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 3rd, 1828.

The days pass, my dear lord, but my sorrow, far from lessening, only seems to increase. I cannot express to you how sad I feel. . . .

But now let me talk to you of public affairs, in order to distract my mind a little. As you will have seen in the newspapers, there is a question of getting rid of the Portuguese refugees who are assembled in England.† The Government has ordered them to disperse. They do not wish 3,000 men to remain in a body at Plymouth. Palmella, rather than allow of their being treated as prisoners-of-war (which could, however, hardly be carried into practice), proposes to ship them all off to the Brazils. The English Government, on the other hand, is suspicious of this measure,‡ and yet cannot see how to prevent their departure. This has led to a number of propositions and counter-propositions for getting rid of them, which in truth seem to me hardly just ; because, if the Portuguese are men of peace, and give no cause for complaint, why refuse them the right every stranger in England enjoys, of

* Lord Strangford was accused of 'mendacity,' for having quoted a despatch as written 'on board H.M.S. *Hibernia*, off the Tagus,' and dated November, which, in truth, was written by him in Bruton Street in December.

† The Constitutionalists, who had failed at Oporto, and had since taken refuge in England.

‡ Fearing that, on their way out, they would make a descent in Portugal.

residing where it best pleases him? Now, the Government has not a word to complain about them; they can only say that this assembly of exiles and refugees has caused disquietude to the Government of Don Miguel. Really, your Ministers are doing a great deal for a Prince whose authority they do not even recognise! The accident, meanwhile, that has befallen him is of a grave nature, and people seem to think he will not get over it.

The King is most decidedly in better health. My husband attended the Court yesterday at Windsor. The King told him he was very happy at being able to prove to him that he was neither dead nor dying. My husband found him looking well and in excellent spirits. He is to move over to the Castle at the end of the week.

The intimacy between your Cabinet and that of Austria is now greater than ever. We know that Austria has already 350,000 men under arms. It is all very ill-advised, for who can have any interest in the outbreak of a general war? If the Powers really desire peace, let them make the Sultan sue it of us. It is the only possible way. Also let none believe we shall be intimidated by hostile demonstrations on the part of our neighbours. We have said our say, we shall not say otherwise, and we shall carry out exactly what we have said. On this head everything is perfectly clear, and so much the worse for those who will not see things in this light. Our blockade of the Dardanelles is now announced, as you will have seen. We have taken every possible measure of precaution and consideration for the interests of your commerce, and admitted the free passage of all English vessels

that have sailed from ports in England or in the Mediterranean, prior to a certain date—November 1, I think.

I have seen Lord Bingham.* The account of his adventures is most interesting ; he laughed heartily at the idea of Yussuf Pasha having been bribed by us. He tells me this Pasha had, in Varna, 20,000 men of his own retainers, paid by himself, and that he was the richest of the Turkish lords, and hence that we should have had to pay a fine sum to have compensated him for his losses. The story of Captain A'Court having come to the rescue of the European diplomatists in the Black Sea is pure fable, as are so many others. He was walking all the time up and down on deck with Lord Bingham and the other passengers. I should like to know, too, how he would have made our Russian sailors understand him ?

My dear lord, I have a great and wicked political intrigue on my conscience which I should like to confess to you, but I must ask leave first before I dare do it. In truth, I am every day more astonished at what I see myself doing, and what I should not do for anyone but you. So forget what I am telling you—even though it be all so vague—until the time comes when I can explain it all.

Do you know there is a talk of making Lord Dudley Privy Seal ?† What would you say to this ?

I have this moment received your letter of the 30th, which I found awaiting me in town, whither I

* The late Earl Lucan. He had accompanied Lord Heytesbury, the English Ambassador, into Bulgaria, and was afterwards attached to the staff of General Woronzow. Captain E. H. A'Court (afterwards Vice-Admiral), brother of Lord Heytesbury, was, at the time spoken of, a guest of the Emperor Nicholas, on board a Russian vessel in the Black Sea.

† In the room of Lord Ellenborough. The appointment did not take place.

have come before closing this. I see we both treat of the same subject—peace or war. As I have already told you, my dear lord, peace is in the Sultan's hands, but he will not sue for it, and so we shall have war.

Our pretensions are not unjust, they are not exaggerated; what we demand is an indemnity for the costs of a war which the bad faith and the insolent conduct of the Sultan has forced upon us, and security for our fleets and our commerce. Do you know, my dear lord, or are you, indeed, ignorant, that our war-vessels dared not pass the Bosphorus? and this, which was a matter of indifference to us as long as we possessed no dockyards in the Black Sea, is so no longer now that we have a fleet of men-of-war there. You must admit that this is a point that demands settlement. I would repeat once more: let Metternich teach the Sultan his lesson, and without this no peace is possible. Russia would be humbling herself were she to act otherwise. And do you at least prevent the evil from spreading; it is not we who desire to have another war. . . .

I see you imagine that the death of the Empress-mother may lead to misunderstandings among the members of the Imperial Family, and that you think the Grand Duke Constantine's ambition might again be aroused. Believe me, we, who know the Prince intimately, have not the least anxiety on this score. We should sooner imagine that you, Lord Grey, should demand the Russian crown than that he should. . . .

I know of no news to send you. Like you, I look forward to Don Miguel's accident proving fatal. The talk in Lisbon, should this happen, is of proclaiming

Don Sebastian King*—who is now at Madrid. It would bring Spain to meddle in the matter. I suppose they think the country is not sufficiently in confusion as it is! I read about Lord Strangford's prosecution, and was much amused at it.

Good-bye, my dear lord.

A thousand kind and sincere regards.

Howick,

Dec. 7th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter, and have been much affected by the touching expression of your sorrow. . . . How I hate to differ from your feelings and opinions. It would not be so if our duties and interests were not different—yours are Russian, mine English, and these, unfortunately, at present do not concur. . . . The Hatti Sheriff† gave you undoubtedly just cause of offence. But I have always considered the first provocation to have been given by those who were parties to the Treaty [of London] of July, '27, and who attacked the Turkish fleet in Navarino. If you obtain all that was then in contemplation, the Independence of Greece, and the renewal of the Treaty of Ackerman, under a sufficient guarantee, surely this would be a basis of peace to which you could assent with honour. But as your feelings of honour are high, you should consider those of your adversary. He also has his national pride, his feelings of honour and independence; and what, let me ask you, would be his con-

* Son of the Princess of Beira (daughter of John VI. of Portugal, and elder sister of Don Miguel) by her first husband, Pedro Charles, Infant of Spain, son of Prince Gabriel. Don Sebastian was born in 1811.

† Repudiating the Treaty of Ackermann.

dition under the absolute submission which you exact even as a preliminary to peace? Of this state of things the natural consequence is the increasing intimacy which you say exists between this Government and that of Austria. With our present prospects that union is likely to be drawn closer. My desire has always been for a connection with Russia, but, in the present state of affairs, I cannot be surprised at the course which our Government appears to be taking.

But let me change a subject on which, I fear, we cannot agree. Shall we be more of the same opinion on the next?—the removal of the Portuguese from Plymouth. Surely there is nothing unnatural in our desiring to put an end to the assemblage of three or four thousand men, regularly regimented and receiving pay as soldiers, at one of our great military ports? Would the French permit it at Brest? or you at Cronstadt? And what is there in our desiring that these members should be divided in different districts at some distance from Plymouth, that can be construed into our treating them as prisoners-at-war? As to Don Miguel, we owe him nothing personally. I hate the monster, and should be glad to hear that he was removed from the world. But he is *de facto* at the head of the Government of Portugal, and whilst we have no cause of complaint that can justify our commencing hostilities against him, I certainly would not expose myself to the risk of being forced into measures which are not in the interests of the country, by allowing the establishment of a hostile force, with the means of embarkation prepared, in such a situation as that of Plymouth. If I was Minister, therefore, and Palmella threatened me with sending them to the Brazils, my answer would be :

Do so if you please, but take care that your preparations are *bonâ fide* made and used for that purpose.

Your *intrigue politique* has excited my curiosity to the greatest degree. I cannot, as you desire, dismiss it from my memory, but I will not press you for further explanations till you think fit to give them. I shall wait for them, however, with great impatience.

Yussuf's riches do not alone decide the question. He may have valued his life more than his possessions. He might fear losing his life in an assault, and would be sure of losing both if he surrendered. I see nothing improbable, therefore, in the belief that he may have stipulated with your Government for an asylum in Russia.

I hear of many rumours of changes, which I suppose are mere speculations or inventions in the present dearth of news. I had before heard that there was a great desire at Windsor to have Lord Dudley again in office, and should not think your news improbable, except that he might feel a difficulty in coming in alone.* If the Duke means to do anything effectual for the settlement of the Catholic Question, extensive changes would become necessary, as in that case, I have no doubt, Peel would resign. But of this I see no real indication.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 10th, 1828.

I have been occupied, my dear lord, for some time back, and shall be still for some weeks to come,

* Lord Dudley was a member of the Canningite party.

in a piece of work that interests me to the last degree—it consists of putting together all the scattered notes that I have jotted down since the year '20. My great-grandchildren will one day be interested in reading over these. They will find the wherewithal to instruct themselves on the history of my times.

Here, my dear lord, is a faithful copy of some notes I made of a conversation with you, which took place the 17th of June, 1823. The Ministry at that moment were in a very shaky condition.* Your party had begun to move in their attack on them. One day you said to me: 'If I were only ambitious, I could easily unite this Opposition, make of them a compact body, and overturn the present Government.' I must have showed you I was somewhat alarmed at the idea, for I was not at all anxious then to see you at the head of the Government; we did not in those days think alike in political matters. This is what you answered me: 'Although we may not think alike on many points, there is one matter on which we can agree from henceforward. Conquer Turkey; it is your interest to do so, and ours to agree thereto, and aid you in the doing. In all other matters we shall then come to an understanding. We are your natural ally; your alliance with Austria is a monstrosity.'

London.

I have just arrived in town on my road down to Panshanger, and I find awaiting me your letter of the 7th, which I must answer. How far you now are from holding the opinions you expressed on the 17th of June, 1823! But such is human nature—politics take their course, and men change. My dear lord, I

* Lord Liverpool Premier.

feel very sad, and the sadness gains on me daily. I lose all those I love, and the only man for whom I feel any sympathy, of heart and of head, is one who shows himself hostile to all my most natural instincts and interests. . . .

I am going to stay some days with Lady Cowper, and shall find Lady Granville there; she will, at least, help me to think of other things. If I feel better to-morrow, I will write to you again, although it is against the rules. But this I feel is a poor letter. You will not believe how much I am now affected by everything, and all you say especially.

Good-bye.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

Dec. 14th, 1828.

MY DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 10th. *Elle m'attriste et m'afflige*. I grieve to observe the state of spirits in which it appears to have been written, and I am rather vexed with what you say with respect to me. I hope I shall never say or do anything that I should hesitate to avow on any subsequent occasion. But I must confess that much of the freedom with which I have been accustomed to open to you all my thoughts, on the subjects on which we converse, would be much abridged if I thought that every expression, carelessly thrown out in confidence at the moment, was to be preserved and recorded against me for future use, if the occasion should require it.

With respect to the two passages cited from your journal, I certainly well recollect that in 1823 there

existed a state of things which might have put it in my power to place myself at the head of a powerful party, if I had been so disposed. But if I said *seriously* that it only depended on me to overturn the Government, I must now acknowledge that I made a very foolish and presumptuous boast.

On the subject of Turkey I do not deny that I have always looked on that Power, whose desolating character sterilizes and destroys some of the finest parts of Europe, as a great evil. With this feeling I have looked on the progress of the Russian Empire in the East with less jealousy than has been generally felt by English statesmen. At that time the great danger that appeared to me to threaten the world was from the Holy Alliance,* and to have detached Russia from that unhallowed confederacy, and to have strengthened a connection which I have always thought most advantageous to both countries, would have been a good which I would have purchased at almost any price. The state of Greece, too, at that time, when you disclaimed and refused all interference, was very different from what it was when the Treaty [of London] of July 6 was entered into ; and afforded a much more reasonable, and a much more justifiable, ground for entering into relations with a people who then seemed to possess

* The Holy Alliance drawn up by Alexander I. of Russia (under the influence of the Baroness Krüdener) was signed by Francis I. of Austria and Frederick William of Prussia the 26th of September, 1815. The three monarchs herein solemnly announced their intention of regulating their foreign and domestic policy by the precepts of Christianity, and declared that they would rule justly, promote brotherly love amongst their subjects, and do all in their power to maintain peace. During the years that followed 1815, however, the objects of the Holy Alliance necessarily became modified by circumstances. The control of the policy of the three signatories gradually fell into the hands of Prince Metternich, and, translated into plain language, the Holy Alliance had become a league of three despots, each guaranteeing the other against his subjects, for the repression of all liberal ideas.

the means of establishing an independent Government.

Without, therefore, exposing myself to the charge of levity or inconsistency, there surely may be found some grounds for altering the views which I entertained in 1823. It is true, *que tout passe, et tout change*, and in nothing so much as in politics; in which new circumstances, new interests, new combinations, constantly arise; in which it would be the height of folly and absurdity to adhere to measures which might have been thought advantageous in a very different state of things.

I will not—the space of a letter will not allow me to do so—I will not pursue this into all the details which would enable me fully to justify myself for *now* feeling the greatest anxiety to put an end to a war which, if it continues, may bring an Iliad of woes upon the world, or for fearing that the destruction of the Turkish Empire might be attended with more danger to us both on the side of Persia, and in the Mediterranean, than I had formerly apprehended. . . . I have already said more than I intended, or had time to put into any satisfactory form. But if I was to suffer my pen to run on, or if it would keep time with my thoughts, there would be no end to this letter. I will, therefore, here close this subject, only begging you once more to believe that I am not an enemy to Russia; and that, if I had a disposition to be so, it would be checked and controlled by all the sentiments of regard and attachment which I must ever feel for you.

I have been rather—I should say, very much—disappointed at not receiving another letter, as you

had given me reason to hope. It probably would have told me what I ought to believe with respect to the operations on the Danube. Making every allowance for the exaggerations and inventions which have been so abundant, it seems reasonable, I think, to conclude that you must have relinquished the siege of Silistria. . . .

I have read over this long but hasty letter, and was on the point of throwing it into the fire, but let it go.

Ever most affectionately yours,
G.

P.S.—Your *intrigue politique*—what is become of it?

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 17th, 1828.

At the time, my dear lord, when I used to make notes of what was interesting to me in the things you said, you were nothing more to me than a drawing-room acquaintance. Since I have learnt to count you as my friend, I have never written down a single word of what you have told me. I trust you will never make me recommence taking my notes.

It is impossible for me to answer a single word to all that your long letter contains, and I even regret that you wrote it to me. Russia cannot allow herself to be threatened. I still regard you too much as my friend to be vexed with you. I had rather imagine you to have been in a very bad humour, and that you really had not the intention of insulting me. However, I beg you to be kind enough not to mention again the word 'mediation' to me.

The siege of Silistria has been raised, this much is certain ; but they did not yet know of it at Petersburg at the date of our last despatches.

As to my political intrigue, here is the confession, but in all confidence. Before the surrender of Varna, the Austrian Cabinet, exaggerating what they were pleased to call our disasters, communicated with your Government, proposing that, since our army was now destroyed and our resources entirely exhausted, it would be well to profit by existing circumstances, and come to an understanding with France and Prussia in order to force us to make peace. Austria undertook to get Prussia to agree in the matter, and left it to England to communicate the plan to France. The Duke of Wellington agreed in the opinion of Prince Metternich that the moment was most propitious, and forthwith opened communications with the French Cabinet. The answer of this Government was, however, that they would never enter into engagements which had for object to lay down the law to Russia, and the King of France further added, that his honour would not allow him to entertain even the idea of any such project, at a time when the Emperor's armies were suffering temporary reverses. The answer from Prussia was that she would never act in opposition to the interests of Russia. These are the exact facts of the case ; I abstain from all commentary, but you cannot be in any doubt as to what I think of the matter. I repeat again to you, my dear lord, all the above is in strict confidence, and for yourself alone.

As soon as I myself know details, I will send you word why it is we have abandoned the siege of Silistria ; we are awaiting the arrival of a courier from

hour to hour. We stayed several days at Panshanger ; the Granvilles and Huskissons were of the party. Mr. Huskisson has come back from Italy with a face like the full moon. They say the King is delighted at the magnificence of the Castle, and that he is both in good health and in good spirits. Lady Conyngham is not there at present, and I do not even know where she is now staying.

You must have been made happy by the news that the Portuguese refugees are to be sent off to the Brazils, under escort of your ships, in order that Don Miguel's convalescence may not be disturbed by any anxiety. I admire, my dear lord, how a great statesman such as you are, born to the command and the rule of men, can thus make yourself in all things the supporter of a Ministry which certainly is not remarkable for any great show of genius. But so goes the world.

My health is still not good. I stay on at Richmond, and even hope to remain there till the meeting of Parliament. Adieu, my dear lord ; as you tell me nothing of Lady Grey, I conclude her health is better.

A thousand sincere regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Dec. 21st, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter gives me little to answer, and I never felt less able to furnish, from my own resources, anything that could amuse or interest you. I have been very unwell for two or three days.

You may be assured that the *intrigue politique* which you have explained to me shall never be

divulged by me to any human being. I have seen allusions to measures of this nature in some of the papers, and in truth it seemed to me that something of this sort might be expected to take place. The only thing that surprises me is the answer of the French Government, or, rather, the reasons on which that answer was founded.

I am afraid that Palmella, or whoever has determined on sending the Portuguese emigrants to the Brazils, have consulted rather their ill-humour than their true interests. However, they have taken their decision, and if its consequences should prove injurious to them, they have nobody to blame but themselves. I have not had a single communication from any living soul on this subject, and consequently know nothing but what is open to all the world; but the more I reflect on it, the more I think that the conduct of our Ministers in this matter has been quite right. . . .

I am very sorry to find that you still complain of your health. Pray tell me that you are better. The truth is that you suffer yourself to be too deeply affected by the political events of the day. But you have had also too much cause for private and personal sorrow. For this it is in vain to prescribe; but a quiet mind is the moral support of bodily health.

Your comparison of Huskisson's face to a full moon is, I suppose, indicative of his restored health. The comparison would be as well suited to his character.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 24th, 1828.

As I expect your letter to reach me, my dear lord, in a few hours' time, I now begin mine to you, without, however, having anything very much of interest to tell you about, unless it be of the charming reception which the King gave to the little Queen of Portugal.* He quite overwhelmed her with attention and kindness, and respectful regard. He drank to the health 'of the Queen of Portugal, his ally;' he addressed her alternatively as 'your Majesty' and 'my dear'; he made her sit on the right of all the ladies present. The Princesses only sat down when the little Queen invited them to do so. In short, it would be impossible to have shown her more attention, and, to my mind, there is both good taste and common-sense in all this that the King has been doing. Besides the members of the Royal Family, the Ministers, too, were present. The King treated Palmella admirably, calling him twice to his side and naming him 'his friend.' In short, the poor Portuguese are quite overwhelmed with their reception, and glad I am for their sakes. Don Miguel has had a relapse, and probably it will end mortally. At Lisbon it was thought that the reaction was about to set in.

The sailing of the Portuguese refugees has been delayed by Palmella. He is now going to send them to Terceira, an island that is wholly for the Queen, there not being a single Miguelist among the population. The refugees will, therefore, find themselves 'at home.' I do not imagine your Government can throw

* At Windsor Castle.

any opposition in the way of their going there. It cannot be regarded as an attack on Don Miguel, for Don Miguel has not been recognised in the Azores.

Here is your letter just come, my dear lord, but as it is merely a reply to mine, it needs no answer on my part; nothing could prove more than our correspondence how much better we understand one another when we are near than when we are far separated. However, I hardly know whether, with the progress you are now achieving, our living near together will any longer bring us into agreement. I must congratulate the Duke of Wellington on having so thoroughly subjugated you.

We go next week to Windsor. The Cowpers are to be there, and also Frederick Lamb,* who is very intelligent, and whom I greatly like. . . .

Adieu, my dear lord. Metternich is still intriguing at Paris to upset the Ministry,† and your Embassy is seconding his efforts with might and main. It is possible they may, in this, succeed, but they will be mistaken in the result. They will not get Villèle back, and that is what they are aiming at. The next Ministry will be even more Liberal than is the present, and this will suit neither Metternich nor your Government. The matter must, however, soon be set at rest, for it is the eve of the opening of the Chambers. Will you come to town for the beginning of the Parliamentary Session? The Duke of Cumberland's arrival is announced for the 19th January, as I think I have already told you.

And now good-bye once more, for I must end.

* Sir Frederick Lamb (late Minister at Lisbon), afterwards created Lord Beauvale. He became Lord Melbourne on the death of his brother William.

† That of Messieurs Roy, De la Ferronnays and De Martignac.

Howick,
Dec. 28th, 1828.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The tone which your letters have lately assumed proves to me that I am quite out of favour. . . . If I am '*si entièrement subjugué*' by the Duke of Wellington, all I can say is that it has been without the slightest pains taken by him for that purpose, and without even the slightest communication between us. I believe I once told you that, having lost my old political correspondents, I had not endeavoured to cultivate any new ones. From Brougham I have had one or two letters since I have been here; the last remains unanswered. I have also heard, once I believe, from Lord Holland, and from no other person who takes any part in politics have I had a single line, except the Duke of Bedford. My opinions, therefore, have been formed entirely and solely from such materials as the public sources of information offered me, and if they are rather favourable to the Duke of Wellington's policy, that effect has assuredly not been produced by any influence or personal interest of any kind. But how far they really are favourable remains still to be seen. I am still very much in the dark as to many very important subjects. . . .

I am glad you are going to Windsor, as I know it always gives you the greatest pleasure, and I shall hope to receive from you an account of all the magnificence and all the amusements of the Castle. I hear the King is going to make large additions to the Cottage. It is, then, still to be his summer residence?

Have you read the account of the murders committed in Edinburgh to obtain bodies for the surgeons?*

* Burke and Hare. The former was executed at Edinburgh, 28th Jan., 1829.

It is said that eight or nine can be proved against the same people. There have also been several instances lately, in Holland, of laudanum administered to stupefy persons, for the purpose of robbing them, in one or two of which the dose has been so large as to prove fatal. Is this one of the proofs of the march of intellect? or of an unaccountable change in the character of the people which would formerly have revolted against such atrocities?

God bless you, dearest Princess; let your next letter prove that you are in charity with me, and believe me ever,

Most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Dec. 31st, 1828.

I thank you for your letter of the 28th, my dear lord—see how soft-hearted I am; what you have written has quite revived my old feelings for you, and yet, I hardly know any good cause for it. How pleasant it would be to me could we think alike in all matters, and how comfortable our intercourse would then be! Perchance we may still attain to it. I am somewhat amused at noting from your letter that because you have no other correspondent but myself, or thereabout, this is an excellent reason why your opinions should be as the poles asunder from mine, in all possible political matters. It is a droll argument, this. It must be admitted that my vanity has never been much flattered during my intercourse with you, but let us now leave the matter in peace.

What do you think of the Duke of Wellington's letter to the Archbishop of Ireland ?* Does it portend anything, or is it nothing ? I cannot form any correct idea of the matter from what I hear spoken round me, for no one, as far as I can see, appears to understand anything about it at all.

The business with the Portuguese refugees is not yet settled. The Brazilian and Portuguese Plenipotentiaries are resolved to send them direct to Terceira, and this on the principle that since the whole island has recognised Queen Donna Maria, and not a Miguelist is to be found there, the little Queen is queen here both *de facto* and *de jure*; consequently that their coming can in no wise be considered an attack on the island, neither will it in the least compromise the principle of neutrality espoused by your Government. The English Government, however, declare that British cruisers shall oppose the disembarkation of the refugees. 'Very well,' say the latter, 'it will be yielding to superior force,' and then they will sail for the Brazils. It is to be observed that the Portuguese leave this country unarmed as they arrived. Letters from Lisbon state that Don Miguel's brain has become affected since his accident.

The news from Russia tells us of great preparations going forward for the coming campaign. Metternich has again made attempts to bring the other Courts to

* On the 11th of December the Duke of Wellington wrote, answering a letter from Dr. Curtis (titular Catholic Primate of Ireland), with whom he had been personally acquainted since his Peninsular campaigns. The Duke assured Dr. Curtis that he was 'sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic Question,' but that at present he saw 'no prospect of such a settlement.' The letter, it is said, was never intended to be made public; but a copy of it was communicated to Mr. O'Connell, and by him taken to the Catholic Association, where it was received with loud plaudits, as a declaration by the Premier that he was now favourable to the Catholic claims.

join in interfering to prevent our continuing the war. But he has failed a second time, and even more signally than on the first. I believe your Government has now advised him to give up the idea of making a coalition against us. On this last occasion there were the most curious contradictions in the reasons put forward by Austria for meddling in the matter—saying one thing to one Power, and another to the other. The various Cabinets naturally communicated among themselves—were somewhat astonished, and then laughed at it all. What has become of Metternich's talents and intelligence?—for intelligent he was, and extremely so. I remember Lord Castlereagh used sometimes to call him 'a political harlequin,' and it was not badly said.

We are to meet at Windsor the whole Cowper and Lamb families, Lord Melbourne, the Agar-Ellises, the Granvilles, and the Duke of Devonshire—so much for the one party; who there may be of the other side I know not. I start in an hour's time—that is, if I go at all, for I am at this moment suffering from horrible toothache, and am waiting for my dentist to come and extract the offending member. If this does not give me relief I must stay behind. Good-bye, my dear lord; I am rejoiced at the notion of seeing you again in four weeks' time. It is the only pleasure I promise myself for the meeting of Parliament.

A thousand sincere regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Jan. 4th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter has quite restored my spirits, and I feel happy at the return of your kindness. If our

duties and our interests could draw the same way, I do not think we should often differ. . . . This I expect will find you *toute extasiée* with your visit at Windsor. Yet I do not think the list I read in the papers one that promises a very lively party, to say nothing of the *gêne* which is inseparable from royalty. I long to hear your opinion of the Castle now it is finished. By some I am told that it is a splendid union of good taste and magnificence ; by others that it is overloaded with gilding and ornaments, unsuited to the character of the building ; that there is no very fine room in it, and that many of the apartments are confined and low, which I think the greatest of all possible faults.

On politics I conclude you would have no conversation, nor do I think that there would be much to be collected from it if you had.

I have no doubt that you are making great preparations for the next campaign. It is both natural and necessary, if the war is to continue, that you should do so. I have as little doubt, if the Turks are not assisted by some very powerful interference in their favour, that those preparations will be effectual. I am not one of those who believe in a winter campaign, or the possibility of retaking Varna. In that fortress, with the line which you occupy between it and the Danube, and in the advanced positions which you have established in Asia, you have two points from which your operations, if undertaken on an adequate scale, and well conducted, cannot be resisted eventually by the inferior discipline and resources of the Turks. But with this opinion of the probable, though not certain, event of the next campaign, I am aware that you will have many serious difficulties to

surmount, and that there are some unfavourable chances against you, and it is, therefore, for your sake, as well as for that of the world, that I wish you to listen to pacific councils. But I shall offend you again, and I will not dwell longer on this subject.

You ask my opinion of the Duke of Wellington's letter. In the first place, I do not think it was very prudent of him to write such a letter, unless he had made up his mind to have it published, and in that case it ought to have been more carefully written. In the next, as to the interpretation that is to be put on it, it seems to me just the same as his speech at the end of the last Session, that he wishes to see the Catholic Question settled, but that he has not at present any intention of proposing a measure for that purpose. The declaration, however, of his opinion in so authentic a form is, I think, favourable to the question which I have so much at heart—will probably add to the majority in the House of Commons, and *perhaps* lead to a more favourable result in the House of Lords.

I have nearly made up my mind to be in my place at the opening of the Session, though the discomfort of being in town without my family is very great. I shall probably stop at two or three places on my way, and certainly at Woburn. But you shall know all my motions, as I shall be anxious to avoid any interruption of our correspondence. God bless you, dear Princess! Always preserve your kind feelings for me, and be assured of the constancy of mine.

Ever yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Jan. 7th, 1829.

I have not yet received your letter, my dear lord, but I begin none the less to write you my budget of news. We passed three days at Windsor, and in the most agreeable way possible. There were the guests whom I have already named to you, and Lord Dudley. The King was most gracious, charming, and attentive to everybody, showing himself particularly kind and amiable to us; I hardly ever remember to have passed more pleasant days with him. He did me the honour of talking a great deal with me, and our opinions coincided admirably on all points. The Castle is magnificent in the extreme: luxury can hardly be carried further, and comfort is equally well looked to; in short, nothing is left to be desired. I have shown you first the sunny side of things—this now is the shady. We found the King looking thin, depressed, and weak. The first day I was quite alarmed by it; the two last days he looked somewhat better. The explanation he gives of his present condition is, that having had to take very potent remedies to get rid of the gout that was flying about the system, these remedies were now causing a momentary weakness. As soon, however, as he shall have ceased taking these medicines—and he hoped to do so in a few days' time—he would begin a course of restoratives and set all this to rights. I am sure I hope with all my heart it may be so. In any case he is much better on his legs, and walks well. He has for some months past lost the use of the third finger of the right hand. He showed Lord Melbourne and Frederick Lamb

special attention. And now the subject of Windsor is finished. An hour before starting I had my tooth taken out, and thus rid myself of the most frightful pain imaginable, which, indeed, would otherwise have prevented my going at all. Had I not been so good a courtier, I should now have still both my tooth and my toothache.

Lord Anglesey's recall is an incident that has made a great sensation, as you can well imagine.* I am curious to know what you will say to it. I could have desired his letter to Dr. Curtis to have been more diplomatic—perhaps it would have been even better had he not written it at all. It appears the letter of the Duke of Wellington urged him to this act. However this may be, the fact of his recall remains, and it is of importance.

We have no news of interest from Russia, except that the greatest preparations are being made for the coming campaign, and that the reported disasters are nothing but poetical figments on the authority of the Austrians; we have not lost a single cannon.

M. de la Ferronnays has had a stroke of apoplexy, and so his political career is at an end. He is a very real loss at this present moment. M. de Metternich will be delighted at it, and your Government too. The French Administration must undergo some very considerable modification. They will have to take in either the ultra-Conservatives or the Liberals.

* Dr. Curtis had transmitted the Duke of Wellington's letter to the Marquis of Anglesey, the Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Anglesey replied (23rd of December) conveying to Dr. Curtis his sentiments on the matter, and the expression of views which, it is said, were in opposition to those of the Government, at the same time counselling the continuance of the Catholic agitation in the country. To the sending of this letter was popularly, but incorrectly, attributed Lord Anglesey's recall, which, in truth, was necessitated by differences that had long existed between the Duke of Wellington and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Portuguese refugees have sailed for Terceira, but your Government say they will oppose their landing there. I cannot believe they will do so, however. The whole island has declared for Donna Maria, and to hinder the refugees landing there would be to violate the English neutrality. Meanwhile, Don Miguel continues his reign of cruelty, and his insults to you. However, they think he is really very ill. Our Consul at Lisbon writes to my husband on the subject as a well-founded report.

I went to town the day before yesterday. I saw Lord Holland again. He is really looking most remarkably well, and I wish I could have taken to myself somewhat of his superfluous health.

Your letter has this moment been handed to me, and I have just time to thank you for it. Will you not stop at Panshanger on your way up to town? I shall be there by about the end of the month. I can only add good-bye, my dear lord, in haste, and a thousand kind regards, for the post is going.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Jan. 11th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 7th, and am enchanted with your description of the magnificence and comfort of Windsor Castle. I am glad, too, that you passed your time so pleasantly there, and found the King in such good humour. But I would not advise you to draw any political inference from anything you may have heard there. What you say of his health appears to me rather alarming. An un-

formed gout still flying about him is of itself, to a man in his 67th year, no pleasant circumstance. But the remedies are, perhaps, worse than the disease. I do not believe anybody ever took any gout-medicine, particularly colchicum—which, I believe, he is in the habit of taking—without suffering from it. The only remedy in that afflicting disease is abstemiousness and patience. But, from what you say, his constitution is constantly undergoing a double action : first, by remedies to counteract the disease, and then by other remedies to repair the effects of the remedies themselves. This is a wear and tear which would be trying to the constitution of a young man.

I lament sincerely the recall of Lord Anglesey. However the blame may be, I think it a most unfortunate event. The letter to the Catholic Archbishop cannot, I think, be defended ; but I understand that this could not, from the date, be the cause of his recall. Of the circumstances which led to this I have heard different versions, and as I suppose we shall have another day of explanations in the House of Lords, I shall suspend my opinion till I hear the statement of both sides.

I have a long letter from Lord Ponsonby* of November 20, who talks to me a great deal of France and Ireland, but, most provokingly, does not say one word of Lord Strangford and his mission. The only thing he tells me respecting Brazil is, that his arrival there was very fortunate, as the peace with Buenos Ayres would probably not have been concluded with-

* Brother of Lady Grey. In 1826 Lord Ponsonby had been appointed Minister to Buenos Ayres. In February, 1828, he was transferred in the same capacity to Rio Janeiro, to which place Lord Strangford was sent on a Special Mission, August 19 of the same year.

out it; that they were within a few weeks of an avowed contest between Republicanism and Monarchy—the Argentine Government assisting the conspirators in Brazil for the destruction of the Crown, and the establishment of democratic Republics from the river of the Amazons to the river Plate. This confirms the account my son gave me of the state of that country; and Palmella, in sending the Portuguese troops to Brazil (if they are not allowed to land at Terceira), may perhaps be found to have made the Emperor a present, which will revive the spirit and renew the dangers which appear to have been quieted for the present.

My present intention is to set out from hence, on Monday, the 26th, as I must stop at Lord Cleveland's, Lord Fitzwilliam's, and Woburn. I am afraid that I could not have even a day for Panshanger; besides that, I have had no invitation. If I fulfil all the engagements which I have mentioned I shall not arrive in town till the very morning of the meeting.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—Your account of Holland's good looks gave me the greatest pleasure.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Jan. 14th, 1829.

Your letter, my dear lord, reached me a few hours ago. Your judgment on Lord Anglesey's affair is exactly what I had imagined—regret at his recall, but blaming his letter, and for the rest, to wait for the

explanations which will probably in time be given of the causes that led to the former event. I have no doubt he himself will give the provocation for these explanations. I am sorry to learn that the King is much incensed against him, but it all turns on a question upon which his Majesty is too much biased for me to be much surprised at this anger on his part. They are awaiting the return of the messenger who has been sent to the Duke of Northumberland, offering him the post. They say Lord Melville has already refused it. The two offers show that they either want a fortune to balance the laxity of principles, or else staunch principles to outweigh the want of fortune. That is to say that Lord Melville thinks well, but has little; while the Duke of Northumberland thinks ill, but has much. As he is reported to imagine himself a statesman, I presume he will accept the post.

There is nothing particularly new in the matter of foreign politics. They report from Paris that the King, who will not believe La Ferronnays must for the future be incapacitated from business, wants to temporize until he shall have recovered his health; but that his Ministers, who feel that temporizing is but a poor affair with the meeting of the Chambers in immediate prospect, wish to have the Ministry re-organized without further delay. It was thought that the Duc de Mortemart* might be named President of the Council, and M. Pasquier Minister for Foreign Affairs. These nominations, if they be carried into effect, would appear likely to meet with general approval. But according to our own latest advices, nothing had yet been decided.

* At the time Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He refused.

I am going down to pass the last days of the week at Panshanger ; I hardly know if my husband will be able to accompany me. On Monday I must be back in town to be present at an entertainment the Duchess of Clarence is giving the little Queen of Portugal at Bushey Park. Towards the end of the month I shall come into town again : such, my dear lord, are my plans and projects. What I like best in what you tell me of yours, is that they end by bringing you up to London. According to the dates you give, my next letter must still be addressed to you at Howick.

It is reported that the Master of the Rolls* is about to retire definitely, and I have heard it said, or rather speculated upon, whether the post would not be given to Brougham. It would be too tempting a bait for him to refuse. What do you say of it, putting yourself in his place—that is, thinking as he does, and with his character? This, however, is all pure gossip, and I am violating my rule, which is only to tell you of facts.

Adieu, my dear lord. I am happy to think I shall only have to write you ‘good-bye’ twice again.

A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Jan. 18th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 14th. My plans continue at present the same as when I wrote to you last ; but I see so unpleasant a prospect before me, that I feel more than half inclined to remain here, and almost pray that the snow, which is come to us at

* Sir John Leach.

last, may be deep enough to make it impossible for me to move. . . .

I have had accounts of the causes which led to the breach between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey, so widely varying according to the colour of the writers, that I am confirmed in my resolution of keeping my judgment suspended till I see the whole case accurately before me. If I were to come to any conclusion at present, it would be that in this, as in most quarrels, some blame will fall on both parties. Indeed, I have seldom known public explanations in cases of this kind produce any satisfactory result ; and in the present, I suppose there is much of so strictly confidential a character, particularly where reference has been made to the feelings and opinions of the King, that it cannot be produced with propriety ; and yet without it the transaction could not be fairly stated. Another conclusion that I have formed is that this mischief has arisen from the want of previous communication, and that if, by the intervention of mutual friends, conciliatory explanations could have been brought about, the whole matter might have been settled. Instead of this, I greatly fear that there were not wanting persons on both sides to do all they could to widen the difference that had taken place.

The Duke of Northumberland went to town on Thursday, so you will hear his determination sooner than I shall. I have no communication with him, beyond occasional visits of civility ; but his previous language would lead to a belief that he will not refuse, and this is the report in Alnwick. I have heard that he some time ago made a formal communication to the Duke of Wellington of his opinion that the immediate

settlement of the Catholic Question was now become necessary ; and this I know is the professed opinion of the person who has the greatest influence with him. What effect may be produced on both their opinions when he comes within the attraction of the Court remains to be seen. If the latter account be true, you will see that the wish of the Government was to have a Lord-Lieutenant both '*bien représenté et bien pensé.*'

I have a letter from Flahault, in which he says that La Ferronnays may be considered as politically dead ; that the King is angry with Villèle for having deceived him as to the state of the public opinion ; and that he sees the necessity of taking his Ministers from the *Centre Gauche* as the party most in unison with the national feelings.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Jan. 22nd, 1829.

I was prevented from writing to you yesterday, my dear lord, although I was in town, for my husband was sending off a messenger, and I spent my whole morning writing letters for home. I have received your letter, and think the hopes you express for the continuance of the snow rather ungallant. I am more polite : I hope for a thaw.

My husband received a few days back the answer from our Court, which your Government was so impatiently awaiting. The Duke of Wellington appears to be fully satisfied and much impressed by this answer.

We are expecting, however, the arrival of another messenger the day after to-morrow. The one who reached here the 16th had left Petersburg on January 4; this is the quickest journey that has ever been made. The English messenger who left there on the 2nd, only reached this the 18th. At Varna everything is perfectly quiet. At our outposts, which are set beyond Pravadi and the Kamtchik, they have not seen a single Turk. The season is most severe, even the plain of Adrianople being covered with snow. The roads over the Balkans are impassable. Sickness had everywhere ceased, the cavalry horses had been brought up to the full force, and the recruits had joined their regiments. All the preparations for the next campaign were being carried on with the greatest diligence. Lord Heytesbury is extremely popular in Russia.

Prince Polignac* has most inopportunately received an order recalling him to Paris; he set off there the day before yesterday. The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems to be suffering from an epidemic of apoplexy, for M. de Rayneval has now been struck down. The portfolio is offered to M. de Polignac, but he is gone over resolved not to accept it unless he be allowed to remodel the Administration entirely; that is to say, to make up a Government of Ultras. If this is not permitted him, he returns here again. I do not imagine that matters will turn out according to his wishes, and if they were to turn out so, things would certainly not last. France is in no mood now to be governed by Ultras. There is a fine confusion, however, reigning over there just now, and this at the very moment when the Chambers are about to meet.

* French Ambassador in London.

It appears the Duke of Northumberland will accept the government of Ireland; if his opinions are those you name, the choice could not have been made more happily. I hear Lord Anglesey is expected to arrive in London to-day. The little Queen of Portugal charmed everybody at the entertainment given her by the Duke of Clarence. She is really most remarkable both in conversation and general deportment. We have a hard frost here. I return to town next week, and very sorry am I to do so. I like the snow at Richmond a hundred times better than the sun in London.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I trust and hope to have only one other letter to write to you.

A thousand sincere regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Jan. 25th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

There is a passage in your letter of the 22nd which has given me the greatest pleasure—viz., that which says that the answer brought back by your courier had appeared satisfactory to the Duke of Wellington. Be assured, whatever difference of opinion may have appeared to exist between us, that nobody more ardently wishes to preserve a good understanding between this country and Russia than I do; and your account holds out the hope that this may be done in such a way as to reconcile the interests of both, and, at the same time, to consolidate the peace of Europe. Without such a prospect I do not think the Duke of Wellington could be satisfied. Now I hope to see you as good friends as ever.

By the way, I observe the Liberal papers, as they call themselves, particularly those which are supposed to be influenced by Mr. Grant* and your friend Huskisson, are those which are the loudest in their calls upon the Government to take measures of direct hostility against you. How does this happen?

So the Duke of Northumberland has accepted, as I expected he would. He was to be at Alnwick last night to prepare for his departure. He wrote to me from London to announce his appointment, and to offer to take my second son† with him as one of his aides-de-camp. I have declined it for the same reasons that induced me to give up the same appointment under Lord Anglesey. My wish is to make my son a soldier, not a courtier. I am, however, equally sensible of the kindness and civility of the offer. I have the best grounds for believing that the Duke goes with a determination to be impartial and conciliatory in his conduct of the government. Nay, more, that he is at last a convert to the necessity of settling the Catholic Question. In this view the appointment is a very good one, perhaps the best that could be made under all circumstances.

I know the person who goes as his chaplain and private secretary, a sensible and respectable man, who possesses more influence with the Duke than any person except the Duchess. You may judge of *his* disposition as to the Catholic Question, when I tell you that he said to me, not long ago, in the presence of the Duchess, that he wished it could be settled on

* Charles Grant, one of the Canningites who had left the Duke's Government in June, 1828.

† The Hon. Charles Grey, afterwards Major-General in the army and Private Secretary to the Prince Consort.

the grounds proposed by me in a speech which I made in 1810.

I care very little about French politics as they affect the parties in that country. My only wish is for a Minister there desirous of preserving a good understanding with this country and maintaining peace. If this is the character of Prince Polignac, whatever may be his colour, I wish him success.

We have at last got the snow of the Balkans. The roads are not yet blocked up, as our post arrived this morning ; but there is every prospect of their being so. At all events, I cannot face a long journey in such weather, and have put off going for the present. I have some excuse in not having been well lately. But this would not have deterred me had I seen that my presence at the opening of the Parliament could do any good, or had the prospects which the present state of politics presents to me been less disagreeable. This delay will last for a longer or shorter time, according to the course of events. I shall, however, hold myself in readiness to set out at a short notice, but with the hope that I may be allowed to remain here some time longer. My chief regret is in being deprived of the pleasure of seeing you. Pray continue your letters, and direct to me here—at least, till you hear from me again.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Jan. 29th, 1829.

It was impossible for me to write to you yesterday, my dear lord; I had not a minute to myself. I have been established in London since the day before yesterday, but find I have not an hour of liberty or leisure there, and I have now come out to Richmond to be able to write to you. The children remain out here at present, and only go into town next week. Their being here affords me an excellent pretext for coming out to the country for a breath of fresh air.

Your letter, which I received yesterday, gave me much annoyance. I was already expecting to see you, and you say you are not coming. Your reasons for so doing I have been unable to understand. What has altered since the time when you resolved to come up? I feel again and again that in your eyes I have the great defect of not being an Englishwoman, for I see too well that you never tell me anything of what relates to your political position in the country, doubtless considering that I am not capable of understanding this, or not worthy of having the subject confided to me. But I think that you are wrong in this. If all the world were likewise excluded, I would submit with good grace, but as this is not the case, I shall not resign myself so easily to the slight. I have good common-sense, I know your country tolerably well, and I am truly your friend.

Well, my dear lord, although one ought never to give an opinion, except to those who ask it, I am about to have the audacity of offering you mine. In my eyes

your position is not frankly taken at this moment, and, to use a somewhat vulgar expression, it is not one that is 'comfortable.' You are no longer of the same mind with the old friends of your past political career, and you have not as yet become intimate with any new ones. One cannot stand alone in this world, or if one does, the position is apt to be painful. I ask: Is not the fault in all this due to the lack of proper explanations? Your old friends are still entirely devoted to you, and I know them all well enough to feel certain that they have one and all the most hearty desire to renew their former terms of intimacy with you. It is impossible you should not feel a like inclination towards them. I have never had any great belief in the couplet of the ballad which says:

'Et l'on revient toujours
À ses premiers amours,'

for nothing is rarer in life than to return to one's first loves; but I shall eternally believe that nothing is more pleasant or more natural than to go back to one's early friendships. Have I been talking nonsense? or may I flatter myself that it is just because I am a foreigner that my advice, being disinterested, may possibly find some credit with you? It is possible, my dear lord, that a very short time hence I may be leaving England for ever. I am a stranger to party politics, but I shall never feel myself a stranger to you, nor indifferent to all that may affect your reputation. Pause a moment, therefore, and think over what I have just said. One word more, and I have done. In regard to my advice, you may possibly nourish some slight suspicion at the bottom of your heart; but I give you my word of honour that all the foregoing is exclu-

sively my own view of the matter, and that whether it be impertinence, folly, or good sense that I have uttered, it is I alone who am responsible for it, since no one has spoken a word to me about the matter.

In point of fact, I have lived nowhere but in Russia since I last wrote to you; I have seen no one but Count Matuscewitz, and you can imagine what a number of questions there were to ask and to answer.* He is a man of great talent, and for twelve years past has made politics his business; he is Nesselrode's first secretary, very high in favour with the Emperor, a great ally of my brother's, and the intimate friend of my eldest son. You can imagine what all this presupposes in the matter of long gossips between us, and I have not yet exhausted the news he brings. The Empress has written most kindly to me, and urges me strongly to come and see her. In the way of politics I have no news to send you. Our second campaign will be carried through with all our strength. We would make peace to-day if the Sultan asked it of us, and would accept the conditions we laid down in the month of April last; all else is impossible. We are on good terms with the world in general, and shall only quarrel with whoever shows a desire to pick a quarrel with us. And surely one may hope that the various Cabinets of Europe have sufficient good sense not to wish to do this. Our relations with England are most cordial, with France the like, with Prussia very intimate, with Austria all that can be desired, reserving to ourselves at the same time the

* See 'Greville Memoirs,' i. 159, 'January 25, 1829.—The Duke, when he dined with us the other day, said that a Russian Extraordinary Ambassador was coming here to overhaul Lieven, a M. Matuscewitz. He is the principal writer in their Foreign Office—a clever man.'

right of looking upon Prince Metternich as the greatest rascal on the face of the earth. By the way, I was dining the day before yesterday with the Duke of Wellington, and we were talking about him. The Duke said to me: 'I never shared the opinion of his being a great statesman; he is a society hero, and nothing more.' I was much pleased at hearing this.

It appears that France is to escape the evil of being governed by M. de Polignac, and he is expected back here again. He is the most ardent Jesuit I know—an avowed enemy of all liberal and enlightened opinion—he is, in fact, a personification of the ideas of the Middle Ages. The speech of the King of France, which I have just read, seems to me a very good one. If I have not seen anyone English of late, I have not seen either any of the diplomatists, and so have no word of news to send you. The King holds a Council on Monday at Windsor, for the Speech. The Duke of Wellington does not think he will come up to London.

Good-bye, my dear lord; the children's chattering has been going on all the time I have been writing, and so you must forgive any mistakes that may occur in this letter. Someone here told me that Lord Holland had been ill. I have not as yet a single acquaintance in town. Lady Cowper only comes up Saturday.

Adieu once more, and a thousand regards.

Howick,
Feb. 1st, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter has gone a great way to confirm the fears which I conceived the first moment I heard

of the mission of this Count with (to me) an unwriteable and unpronounceable name. You speak of the possibility—which I already translate into the probability or the certainty—of your being separated from England *pour toujours*. This is like an *arrêt de mort*. . . . But I will not dwell on this sad subject. Perhaps my fears run too fast, and for the present I will console myself with the assurance of what you say of him, that the arrival of this Count does not indicate any loss of confidence and favour, of which such missions seem usually to be a sign.

I feel all the kindness of what you say personally about myself. There are undoubtedly circumstances, both in your situation and in mine, which must necessarily and unavoidably impose some restraint on both; circumstances, too, which may perhaps render it almost impossible for either, where the different interests of our countries interfere, to be strictly impartial. But I am confident that you would not intentionally, for the sake of any interest, offer me any counsel that you thought could bring into question my consistency or my honour. I have often told you that I have no secrets, which is strictly true, with such exceptions as must naturally present themselves. My position is undoubtedly in some respects difficult—difficult from a variety and complication of circumstances which it would be impossible to discuss or even to state in a letter. It is also affected by the advance of age,* by the diminution of energy and ambition, and by an increase of a constitutional depression of spirits, to which I have been subject all my life, and which has latterly, accompanied by feelings of ill-health, affected

* Lord Grey was within six weeks of completing his sixt -fifth year.

me more than usual. In these circumstances, and in the wish (which my feelings of good-will to both naturally inspire) to avoid the necessity of taking any part in the quarrel between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey, are to be found the real causes of the postponement of my journey. Further, there is this political motive to be assigned for it. I cannot join in the opposition to the Government at this moment, at the risk of increasing the difficulties in the way of the Catholic Question, which is to me paramount to all others ; on the other hand, I cannot profess myself the supporter of a Government which holds out nothing more than indefinite and, what some may think, ambiguous professions of a wish to do what I think right and necessary on that all-important subject. I stand thus in a sort of neuter position, not quite alone, but sufficiently alone (I agree with you) to make it 'uncomfortable' if it is of long continuance ; in which, however, if not prematurely forced from it, I may find means to do some good ; and it is to keep this in my power that I wish to see a little more distinctly the course which affairs are likely to take, before I engage in a scene in which, the moment I take a part, no further choice may be left to me. This is the whole secret of my situation and my views. You now know as much as my most intimate friends—but not more, unless my recollection fails me, than you might already have collected from my former letters. I have hinted that this situation cannot last long, and I do not contemplate more than a short postponement of my journey. I hold myself ready to begin it at the shortest notice, and I do not expect to be long without a summons, which I shall think it necessary to obey. Direct your next letter,

however, to me here, as I shall certainly not set out before next Sunday.

I wish your letter held out better hopes of peace. The terms on which you say it depends make me despair. Forgive me if I say that I do not think they argue much real moderation. If you really intend the conquest and division of the Turkish Empire without directly avowing it, I do not see what better course you could take. *Je ne suis pas 'Tourc'* (like Lord Westmoreland), but I dread the danger to which I see the peace of Europe exposed. I wait with impatience for what may be said in the King's Speech on this subject. Here, again, I am anxious not to be called upon to offer one word till I have had an opportunity of maturely considering the course which Government may indicate upon this very interesting subject.

So '*l'homme d'énormément d'esprit, d'une franchise et loyauté tout-à-fait remarquable, etc., etc.*' turns out at last to be '*le plus grand coquin du monde!*'* In his moral qualities you may have been deceived and mistaken, but in his intellectual ones you cannot. The powers of his mind and his talents as a statesman cannot be altered by the course he takes, nor suffer any diminution but that which, it is satisfactory to believe, a tortuous conduct often produces. I remember your telling me in town that the Duke of Wellington spoke of him as '*un grand homme d'état.*' Opinions which change so entirely must, at least, excite some distrust of the solidity of the judgment by which they are formed.

I have seen a letter from an Englishman at Paris, which speaks of some exposure of the Duke of Cum-

* Prince Metternich.

berland's conduct which will prevent his coming to England. Can you tell me what this means?

God bless you, dearest Princess,

Believe me ever, most entirely yours,

GREY.

[Feb. 5, in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, after a reference to the disorders in Ireland, caused by the revival of the Catholic Association, the King recommended that Parliament should consider whether the disabilities of Catholics might not be removed. Rumours of the tenor of the Speech were naturally current some days before the 5th.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Feb. 4th, 1829.

Thank you heartily, my dear lord, for your long kind letter, all the proofs of your friendship it contains, for the confidence you place in me, and for your anxieties on my behalf. Thanks, above all, for coming so soon to town, and I expect you now without fail, seeing the great event that is in preparation. You must allow that what the Government has done savours, somewhat, of juggling. No matter, however, the measure is both wise and useful, and given this, all the little tricks that have gone before will soon be forgotten and forgiven. I am enough of an Englishwoman to rejoice with all my heart at the prospective Emancipation of the Catholics, and I congratulate you on the measure with all sincerity. I know only that, for the present, Mr. Peel remains in,* and everybody

* Mr. Peel immediately after the King's Speech resigned his seat for Oxford, stating that he believed his former resistance to the Catholic claims had been one of the main grounds upon which the University had elected him their member. The contest was eager and close, Sir R. Inglis, his opponent, being ultimately returned by a majority of 146. Mr. Peel was afterwards elected by the borough of Westbury, and assumed the management of the Catholic Relief Bill in the Commons.

else ditto. It is most curious how agitated and excited everybody is. The surprise was great on all sides, for most assuredly the immediate antecedents had not given the world cause to suspect any such outcome. It is all a very curious business ; but I must repeat once again, the burden of my song is, that it is all an excellent thing.

And now I return to my own affairs, my dear lord. I am much touched by all you say to me about myself, and I am not, I promise you, in any way vexed with you. For the moment, I can assure you, there is no question of my going away, and the Emperor has not the smallest intention of recalling my husband ; on the contrary, he would wish him to stay on here for ever—but this, alas ! cannot be. We will, however, talk it all over when we meet, and I will confide the whole subject to you.

What you tell me of your own position proves to me that matters must soon clear themselves one way or the other, and I await your coming to know how it is all to turn out. In my opinion, however, there is only one thing to be done. The King's Speech to-morrow will show you what the Ministry thinks on the subject of our affairs in the East. The language they hold in talking to us is that of perfect satisfaction, and full confidence, in the principles and the assurances of the Emperor. But I am no longer of the age of innocence when one believes all one is told, and I have seen people contradict themselves so flatly, and do the same so easily, that I am become somewhat suspicious. And this reminds me of a recent event. The Duke of Wellington has in the past been doing everything he could to bring Polignac into the French Ministry. He had his own reasons for so acting, and probably

was fully justified by the interests he had at stake. But the plan has failed, and the Duke some days ago remarked to a diplomatist: 'Polignac is a blockhead; he never was made for being a Minister.' Another instance of the same curious kind is in regard to the person who was formerly 'the greatest of statesmen,' but who has become now 'merely a drawing-room hero.' But all this is gossip, and I am hurried for time.

I have heard a horrible business talked about in the matter of the Duke of C[umberland], and the relations existing between him and his sister.* They say a certain person named Garth intends to publish documentary proofs of the affair. In this I judge without knowing the evidence and off-hand—it *must* be an infamous calumny, for I never shall give credit to unnatural horrors. This is probably the story you have heard vaguely referred to. By the way, in passing, I presume the Duke of Cumberland will return now in all haste. What will he have to say to the events now pending? I have again come out to Richmond to write you this letter, for literally I have not a moment to call my own in London. Send me word when you are to arrive. It is very possible this may no longer find you at Howick, if, as I hear it said, you are to leave home as soon as you have news of the Speech.

Good-bye, my dear lord; I am quite enchanted at the idea of seeing you again. That gives my going into London quite another colour in my eyes. I see well that we now agree perfectly together, and I am very proud of it.

Good-bye once more, and *au revoir*.

* Probably the Princess Sophia is here intended.

Howick,
Feb. 4th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

My letters this morning speak so positively of the intention of the Ministry to bring forward some measure respecting the Catholics, that I have determined to set out on Saturday. I shall stop at Lord Cleveland's one night, and at Woburn, if the Duke of Bedford is still there, which will prevent my reaching London before Thursday. I will write again after I receive your letter on Friday, to tell you where to direct to me on the road, as I should be sorry to lose my letter. There is no other secret motive for this change of resolution beyond what I have stated. I say this to prevent your puzzling yourself to find a *dessous des cartes* which does not exist.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

Darlington,
Feb. 8th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am so far on my way to town. I got your most kind and agreeable letter yesterday before I left Howick, and I must thank you for it, though I have time for little more. I must acknowledge that previous occurrences had given little reason to expect an immediate recommendation from the Throne, to take the Catholic Question into consideration. But as there seems a simpler and honester way of accounting for it, may we not discard the suspicion of any *tour de passe*? Might it not be, and if so, would it not be creditable to the Duke, that, having great difficulties to overcome, he thought it better, till assured of success, rather to

discourage than to give hopes which might end in disappointment ?

If you get this in time to write on Sunday, I may receive a letter directed to me at the Cock Inn, Eaton, St. Neots, where I shall sleep on Tuesday night.

Believe me, ever dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Feb. 10th, 1829.

I received your letter from Darlington, my dear lord, this morning, and I hasten to write you a few lines which will, I trust, reach you at your last stopping place before London.

If, as I hope, you arrive to-morrow, pray come and see me that same evening ; you will find a few people with us. I also want you to give me the pleasure of coming to dine with us Sunday next, the 15th. All this, however, will not give us any quiet time for talking ; but then, I trust, as formerly, we shall be able to meet during the mornings. Your arrival will be a great event. The evening papers of last night already named you Privy Seal. This offends me, for I will hear of no half-measures for you. As I have already told you, the place you have to take is the first place.

The Whigs seem very sincerely desirous of supporting the Government in the Catholic Question, and it appears to me, from the violence the Tories are beginning to show, that the only support the Government will be able to count on is that of the Whigs. The Ministers all tell me they foresee great difficulties

—but then, perhaps, it is part of their tactics to say this. It is said in society that the King has sent word to the Duke of Cumberland not to come. It is with difficulty I should credit this ; and even if it were true, I should hardly believe H.R.H. would obey the mandate.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I am quite delighted at the idea of meeting you again. Come and see me, if possible, to-morrow night, and if not, the next morning at any rate.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Codecote Lodge,
Feb. 11th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for the very kind letter I received last night at Eaton ; the date of this will be my excuse for not calling this evening. I am afraid I shall not have time to do so before I go to the House of Lords to-morrow, but [I will call] certainly on Friday morning ; and I shall have great pleasure in accepting your invitation for Sunday.

My pretensions are not quite so high as your too favourable opinion would make them ; but I do not think they are so low as to make me consent to be taken as a *pis-aller* for Westmoreland. These are fine times for the active and ambitious, but I am at least twenty years too old.

I look with infinite pleasure to the hope of seeing you so soon : till then, adieu.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

[The Catholic Relief Bill was brought in by Mr. Peel, and read for the first time in the Commons March 5. The third reading, on the 30th, was carried by a majority of 178. In the Lords the Bill was introduced by the Duke of Wellington, March 30, and on April 10 was passed by a majority of 104. The King, finding that the supremacy oath would have to be altered, at first refused his consent to the Bill, but, on the resignation of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and the Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst), he ended by giving his consent in writing. The Bill received the Royal Assent April 13.]

CHAPTER V.

THE END OF THE WAR.

Peace Proposals—The Duchess of Cumberland—The Duke of Cumberland and the Government—M. de Fonton's Mission—The Fall of Orsava—The Duke of Cumberland and Lord Grey—Sontag—Lord Rosslyn Privy Seal—The Return of the Ambassadors to Constantinople—Russian Advance to Aïdos and Selimmo—The Duke of Wellington and Prince Polignac—Buckingham Palace—The King's Reception of the Duchess of Cumberland—Prince Esterhazy—Re-election of Mr. O'Connell for Clare—Prince Polignac's Ministry—March of Paskievitch on Erzeroum—Correspondence between the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Lyndhurst—The Duke of Wellington's Action in regard to the Polignac Ministry—General Müffling's Mission to the Turks—Weakness of the French Ministry—The Duke of Wellington and the King—Details of M. de Polignac's Attempts at Forming a Ministry—The Fall of Erzeroum, and the Passage of the Balkans—The Duke of Wellington's Opinion of Prince Polignac—Occupation of Burgas and Aïdos—Constantinople at the Mercy of the Russian Army—Russian Demands—Austria '*Demande Pourboire*'—The Battle of Kirk Kilissa—Success of Donna Maria's Troops at Terceira—The King's Speech at Table about Russia—His State of Health—The Russians enter Adrianople—The Boundaries of Greece—The Sultan makes Peace Proposals—Russia and Turkey—Lord Grey's Proposed Boundaries for Greece—The Court-Martial and Admiral Codrington—Affairs in France tending to a Revolution—Libels against the Duke of Wellington—Delays on the part of the Turks—Peace not yet Concluded.

[On June 11 the Russians, under General Diebitsch, gained a complete victory over the Turkish forces under the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, at Koulevtcha, near Shumla. This was followed, on June 30, by the surrender of Silistria.]

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Saturday, July 18th, 1829.

I have nothing to tell you, my dear lord, and you have everything to tell me ; why, therefore, is it I

who must make the first move? However, as you are sometimes obstinate, I am making advances towards you, and even show humility. I ask you for news; I ask you to remember me, and this the more often the better. It is raining here as though it were the time of the Deluge. I go out and take a cold bath several times a day, for I prefer getting wet to being bored.

It appears your Ministers believe peace will be made, and, in consequence, they have become more amiably inclined. But, pray, take occasion to remember what I told you some time ago. After the Emperor shall have shown all possible moderation and generosity, they will then turn round and say that he could not have acted otherwise, and that the Emperor has been forced by the Duke of Wellington to do it all. So wags the world. I trust, however, we shall never do anything that is not consonant with our honour. As to what regards our interest, that touches me less nearly; but I am very proud.

Matuscewitz was received by the King of France on the very next day after his arrival in Paris, and was extremely well content of his audience. The King of France thinks as you do about the boundaries of the Greek State.

There is no one here as yet. . . . Good-bye, my dear lord; I beg you to write to me, and believe your letters can never be either too long or too frequent.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Berkeley Square,
July 20th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I had, perhaps, no right to do so, but I had made sure of hearing from you by this morning's post, and I have not been disappointed. . . .

You, of course, know that the Duchess of Cumberland is coming immediately. She is certainly to be here before the King's birthday. She must meet the Princesses on that occasion if she is received at Court, as she will be, of course; we shall then see whether their professed determination not to acknowledge her as one of the family will be adhered to.* It seems to me impossible that it should.

The Duke's remaining must certainly be very disagreeable to the Ministers. Whatever other effect may be produced, it will certainly have the effect of keeping the King in a constant state of uneasiness. More important consequences, I have no doubt, would result from it if there existed the means of forming an Administration of Ultras. In the meantime, the Duke of Wellington seems to be going on as if he was quite at his ease. I do not believe any of the reports which have been in circulation, either as to general or partial changes. Nor do I believe that anything in either of these views will be attempted for two or three months to come. Probably, before the meeting of Parliament, an endeavour may be made to get some accession of strength. But from what quarter? My opinion is

* The Duke of Cumberland had married in 1815 the Princess Frederica, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who had been twice married before, first to Prince Frederick of Prussia, and secondly to the Prince of Salms-Braunfels. The Duchess of Cumberland had been divorced from her second husband, and she had from the first been treated by Queen Charlotte with great coldness.

that it will be from among the Ultras. By that time the Duke of Cumberland and his associates may be convinced that it is impossible for them to form a Government entirely of their own colour ; and the Duke of Wellington may also think this the best way, in a choice of difficulties, of securing his own power. But the difficulties in this and in any other view that can be taken of these matters are so great, that when I think of them I find myself lost in conjectures which seem to offer no reasonable result.

Your affairs seem to be going on very prosperously. The fall of Silistria is a great event ; and it seems now so certain that, after the defeat of June 11, the Grand Vizier had not been able to collect any sufficient force in Shumla, that I expect to hear very soon that General Diebitsch is in possession of that place also. In such a position you surely can negotiate without any fear for your honour, which I agree with you in thinking the most important object for every nation. No point of interest, as an interest merely, is worth the sacrifices which must attend even a successful war. It is only because submission to an unjust demand is an acknowledgment of weakness, and therefore inconsistent both with security and honour, that we are bound to resist it. You are now relieved from this fear I sincerely hope your moderation will prove equal to your power, and that peace will be the result. In that case I shall rejoice sincerely in your success. On the other hand, if you should be tempted to prosecute objects which would be dangerous to that balance of power on which the peace of Europe depends, you would find me, however painful the situation might be, in the ranks of your adversaries. I can hardly believe that the Duke

of Wellington will, in any case, assume the tone which you suspect ; but let me entreat that your apprehension of his doing so may not have any influence on your conduct. You are too great and too powerful to suffer such considerations to have any weight with you.

What a letter ! It surely will cure you of the desire that I should write frequent and long ones.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Wednesday, July 22nd, 1829.

A thousand thanks for your letter, my dear lord. It is impossible to preach conciliation and moderation better than you do, and, further, it is impossible to follow out your counsels more rigorously than we do. M. de Fonton's mission* was entirely pacific in its object ; Diebitsch's letter to the Grand Vizier was all that was most polite and conciliatory ; the answer he got was haughty in the extreme, and Fonton's mission turned out a failure. With the Turks blows are needed, not words, and this is a truth too well attested by experience for it to be matter of doubt for a single instant. They have not been yet beaten enough. Well, one must take them at their word. Our proposal for an armistice seemed to the Turks a proof of feebleness. Hence they

* A. von Fonton had been despatched to Shumla to the Grand Vizier, with proposals for an armistice. He had returned unsuccessful to the Russian headquarters, July 5.

rejected it, and this is what will always come of any show of kindness towards them. However, I do not regret the Emperor should have given this further proof of his desire for peace, although with certain persons I know he will always be considered to stand in the wrong. In the end, however, people must tire of injustice and bad faith, as of all else in this world, and I console myself for the wrong-headedness of some people with holding fast to those who are right-minded; and after all, I am in excellent spirits about it all. Your letters will, I know, contribute to keep me in this happy humour, and therefore I beg you most earnestly to write to me as often as possible; it is doing a great charity, and giving me a great pleasure.

I must, by the way, give you the true account of the taking of Orsava. We found fifty cannon there instead of five, as the newspapers reported, and this place is of great importance to us for cutting off the communication with Widdin. Silistria is, as you say, a great gain to us, and the small amount of resistance made by that fortress shows how the Turkish *morale* has suffered by the Vizier's defeat. My own opinion is that if the Sultan remains obstinate, and insists on a war to the knife, he may possibly find among his own subjects some who will be glad to be rid of him.

I expect Lady Cowper here to-day; I wish I could hope to see you too. Why could not you come and pay me a little visit? What are you doing to-morrow or the next day? A day's outing would do you good. How much longer do you remain in town? Is the marriage to take place there?*

Have you heard anything of what passed at Thursday's Council? Was

* Lady Mary Grey was about to marry Sir Charles Wood, Bart., M.P.

the King in better humour with his first Minister? The Duke of Cumberland told me just before I left town he expected that before long his wife would be coming over to England, but I have not heard anything more of the matter since. I can hardly believe the Princesses will be able to resist the King's will, which is that they should receive her. As to the King himself, he likes the Duchess's society well enough.

Good-bye, my dear lord; this is a long letter to emanate from the district of Mount Ephraim. Do you know the view we have from up here? Nothing but donkeys, nurses, and children.

Kindest regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Berkeley Square,
July 24th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I intended to have answered your letter yesterday, but was occupied the whole morning, so that I had not a moment to myself.

What you say abates my hopes of peace. Still, I think, if our Ministers took a right course, it might be effected; but I am afraid there is too much truth in your observation that their conduct is better calculated to encourage the Turks to resist, from the hope of support, than to submit, on reasonable terms, to the necessities of their situation. I say this in the confidence that you are ready to agree to terms that would be really reasonable; such, I think, I could propose, if you feel that your honour is the first object.

I have heard nothing of what passed at the Council, except that the King appeared well and in

good-humour. I do not find, however, that there are any symptoms of the Ministers being in greater favour ; and while none of them appear at Windsor, and the Duke of Cumberland is constantly there, the contrary must be presumed.

You will perhaps hear that I have had an interview with him (the D. of C.) by appointment at Lady Jersey's. I called there yesterday, and was told that he was there, upon which I transferred my visit to Lord Jersey, who was in his room below. Somebody had seen us both go into the house, and within a quarter of an hour afterwards this report met me in Bond Street—so much for reports.

I have another amiable trait of this said Duke to report to you. On a visit the other day to the Duchess of Clarence, the conversation turned on the Duchess of Weimar, or some other German Princess, a relation of the Duchess, a widow, and said to be in great affliction for her husband.

The D. of C. : 'Oh, don't be uneasy about her ; she will soon console herself and marry again.'

The Duchess : 'I don't think so ; she was very much attached to her husband, and I don't believe she will take another.'

The D. of C. : 'Oh yes, she will—they all do ; and you yourself will marry again soon.'

This is absolutely true.

The report of Lord Douro's marriage with the surgeon's daughter is very current. I cannot believe it, but it is confidently asserted. The Duke of Buccleuch's with Lady C. Thynne you have heard, of course. It is now said that M. Rossi is not the husband of the Sontag, but that somebody else is.

Query: Is there any *de jure*? *De facto* there certainly is. She is going to spend the summer at Cheltenham, for the benefit of *the sea air*.

You will see how little there is here, or, at least, how little I know, that can interest you, when I resort to this stupid gossip. You will have read the accounts from Ireland, which are certainly very unpleasant. The Primate, who was in Dublin, refused to attend the Council, held for the Proclamation.*

The Orangemen have certainly been the instigators of the present disturbances, and your friend, the whiskered Duke,† has much to answer for on this subject. But O'Connell and his associates are not wanting on their side in their endeavour to excite the Catholics. Between them the Government has not acted with the vigour and decision that I expected. With full notice of what was intended, why were the Proclamation, and the measures necessary to enforce it, delayed till after July 12?

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Monday, July 27th (1829).

I did not answer your letter of the 24th before, my dear lord, because, with Lady Cowper here, I had no time for anything. We spent the whole of our days walking or driving out, and never before have I been so much in the open air. The weather was lovely,

* The Proclamation prohibiting the Orange meetings, July 22.

† Duke of Cumberland.

and our spirits were of the best. In short, it was a charming way of living, but it prevented my even being able to write a letter.

What a pity you could not come here ! I am sure it would all have suited you admirably. Your letter interested me greatly, and your judgment in all things coincides with my own. I am quite grieved at being unable to give you details of a most curious interview I had with Lord Aberdeen ; one cannot write what one can very well say by word of mouth. You would appreciate the *naïveté*, or rather what M. de Metternich used to call 'the British innocence' in all its purity. I perceived clearly how it was they thought to have done wonders by taking Lord Rosslyn into the Cabinet,* how astonished they were at finding you were not ready to swallow the bait offered, and how, at the end of the business, they are rather disappointed at only having Lord Rosslyn to show for a trophy of all their cleverness. And yet this is the plan on which they still propose working, namely, to unite with no party, to allow each individual adversary to think that his time is just coming, and thus seek to paralyze any combined opposition against the Government by leaving everybody in suspense, and each in the hope of his own individual advancement. One must have a fine contempt for mankind, to rest the security of the Government on such a basis ; but unfortunately the calculation is not wholly beside the mark. There are few men, though there may be some, who can refuse the bait of a place. The King's disfavour is a point

* Lord Rosslyn was named Lord Privy Seal, to the displeasure of the high Tories. It was said that the King had refused to agree to Lord Grey being offered the post.

that seems to me to be weighing on the Ministers, and it appears that this feeling on the King's part increases rather than diminishes.

As for their foreign policy, the Government is in a state of suspense at present, until the fate of M. de Polignac be settled. He said, when he left England, that he had been sent for to take the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Were this to be the case, the politics of Europe would assuredly be embroiled, and his elevation to the post of Minister would be the signal for a general war. I should, for my own part, be much astonished if M. de Polignac were to be made Minister, but your Government still flatter themselves with the idea of it. The next eight days will, you may be sure, be a most decisive epoch in politics. We have no news whatever from the seat of war. It is evident that Diebitsch was awaiting the surrender of Silistria, before recommencing vigorous operations, and on this assumption it would only be in ten or twelve days' time that we could look to getting important news. The return of the Ambassadors* has spread the greatest joy throughout Constantinople. I must admit to you that I see nothing in this that is likely to lead to peace being concluded. Lord Aberdeen, however, views the matter differently. We shall see. The only point that is very sure is, that if the peace be not made, it will not be from any fault of ours. Let yourself be convinced, my dear lord, that we are

* June 18, the Ambassadors of England and France returned to Constantinople with instructions to get the Porte to accept the Protocol of March 22, signed in London by the Allied Powers of England, France, and Russia. In this Protocol it was agreed that the largest boundaries for the new Greek State, which had been suggested, were those most desirable; further, that the Greek tribute should be cut down to a million and a half piastres, and that the new State should be placed under an hereditary Christian prince.

acting loyally and with moderation, and that if there be any fault in us, it is in our exaggerated leaning to this latter virtue. So much the worse for the stupid people who cannot make their profit of the Emperor's goodwill in this matter.

I am grieved to think that you are so soon again to go northwards. I liked the thought that my letters had only a few hours' journey to make. However, we are resolved as ever to accomplish our tour in the North, and, with the peace in prospect, it will be some date before September 1 that would see us setting forth. At this moment we have the Gowers and the Ellises here. Lady Aberdeen is but a poor resource socially; her husband leaves to-day, but is to return Thursday. The Esterhazys are going to spend the week at Walmer Castle, and they then come on here.

Good-bye, my dear lord.

With many assurances of my constant friendship, I must now end, being much hurried.

Berkeley Square,
July 29th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I can make but a very poor return for your most agreeable and amiable letter, but I must thank you for it, that I may not lose my title to a continuance of the same pleasure.

I have been worried with business—preparations for my journey, and interviews with lawyers on the settlements for our approaching marriage. . . .

This town is now a desert, and grass will, I think, soon be growing in the streets. To judge from the silence that prevails, one would suppose that there was

no one subject of any interest to the public, or creating the least embarrassment to the Government. The Duke continues at Walmer, and whether any other Ministers are in town, or what they are doing, seems to be a question which concerns nobody.

I have just read the note of our Minister to the Greek Government, and their answer. All I will say is, that they have astonished me.

The way in which the account comes, makes me disbelieve the advance of two corps of your army to Aidos and Selimmo, particularly to the latter ; but I do not imagine that there can be any doubt of your passing the Balkan this campaign. What then ?

Flahault came over the day before yesterday, and is going immediately to Scotland. He does not seem to think it improbable that Polignac may become Minister, but forms the same conclusions as to that event, if it should happen, that you do. He says that the scheme of the Ultras is to make use of the interval which is offered them before the next meeting of the Chambers, to prepare them by all the means which the Government possesses for an alteration of the law of election, and if they succeed, to dissolve them. If not, some are desperate enough to talk of doing this by an Ordinance ; but this seems to me to be too desperate to be attempted. He says that there is no doubt entertained at Paris of the Duke of Wellington's having been in correspondence with the King on these subjects.* I do not think he would do a thing that appears

* It was always said that the Duke had sent a letter to Charles X. in December, 1828, when Prince Polignac returned to Paris on leave. In this letter he was supposed to have recommended Prince Polignac as a person well able to acquaint his Majesty with the true nature of the situation, and the dangers by which he was surrounded.

to me not less foolish than wrong ; and Lady Jersey tells me that he assured her in the most positive terms that he had never once written to the King since his accession. . . .

I went yesterday all over the Pimlico Palace.* What will the King say if he hears of my having seen it ? It is, both inside and out, the most complete failure that can be imagined. The garden front is, if possible, worse than the other. It seems as if it had been contrived to exhibit the perfection of bad taste in every possible way. *Tout est marqué au coin de la petitesse.* The garden is well done and very pretty, but, then, it is overlooked in every part by the houses in Grosvenor Place.

We go on Saturday, and I shall count the days till the time of your promised visit. To-morrow and Friday you may direct to me here, and I will write another line before I go, to say where afterwards.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,
July 31st, 1829.

I thank you, my dear lord, for your two letters, received yesterday† and the day before, but I am truly grieved at thinking that to-morrow you will be setting out on the journey that takes you so far from me. Every day I repeat to my husband how I reckon our tour may be carried out. I fix the stages, and he in no ways contradicts me ; and seriously,

* Buckingham Palace.

† Of July 30, announcing the marriage was over.

unless your Government takes some extraordinary measure—of which act many believe them quite capable—we shall start northwards about September 1.

How much I regret not having been able to have had a talk with you before you go! How many stupid things may there not take place between this and the moment when we shall meet again! I assure you great men are very small people indeed at times, and these small people may do great evil. All this you will acknowledge one day, and when it is too late. The chapter of regrets is indeed a long one in life.

We have no news from the seat of war, neither do we hear aught from Paris, though the fate of the Ministry must have been decided by this time. I repeat once more, woe to Europe if M. de Polignac is made Minister! Woe to me, too, for then I shall not go down to Howick.

Lord Aberdeen came back here last night, but I have not seen him yet. The Cowpers are coming to spend a week at Tunbridge; they arrive on Monday. As I think I have told you, I go up to London about the end of the week to pay my respects to the Duchess of Cumberland. I am curious to see how she will be received. As for the King, he will pay her every attention; but the Princesses and the Ministers, what will they do? I am sending you, my dear lord, a pamphlet on the affairs of Portugal, which I find very well written. I do not doubt its having been composed by Palmella, for I think I recognise his style.

Lord Aberdeen has just left me. The only piece of news he had to tell was about your interview with the Duke of Cumberland at Lady Jersey's. When I took the liberty of saying to him that he

must be ill-informed, that it was true you and the Duke had been under the same roof, but not in the same room, he replied that the facts, none the less, were as he had stated them, since it was Lady Jersey herself who had related the story, giving him all the details. The details must have been somewhat droll! What say you to the veracity of Lady Jersey? All this makes me somewhat doubt the stories she told you on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, in the matter of Polignac, or rather in the matter of his not having communicated with the King of France. Now pray, my dear lord, believe me, rather than Lady Jersey; she has a more fertile imagination than I have.

And so I must say good-bye to you; and this grieves me as though it were a new separation. Truly I shall do all I can to make the separation as short as possible, but meanwhile let us write to each other most regularly. Answer my letters the next day after their arrival, and I will do the same on my side.

Good-bye, and a thousand most sincere regards.

Berkeley Square,
Aug. 1st, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have only a moment to thank you for your letter of yesterday. The carriage is coming to the door, and there are still a hundred things to do at the last minute.

It is impossible that Lady Jersey can have said what Lord Aberdeen supposes. It must have been his mistake—probably arising from her having stated what had been said of the interview, not as a fact, but

as a report. It had been talked of at her house before a hundred people, as a specimen of the way in which reports arise and are circulated. Neither can I doubt the fact of the Duke of Wellington's having told her that he had not written to the King. Whether the fact be so or not is another question. He may, perhaps, have thought himself authorized to give any answer he pleased to what was indiscreetly asked.

There has been a negotiation, through Sir H. Taylor, with the Princess Augusta, and she has consented to receive the Duchess of Cumberland. This, I suppose, means the whole family, the Princess Augusta taking the lead as the senior Princess. Do not mention this as coming from me, and particularly do not let Sir H. Taylor's name escape you.

Flahault has just been here ; he has no fresh news from Paris, but he confirms what I told you before. He speaks from Talleyrand's information. He says the King has been impressed with an opinion that the maintenance of his power depends on this change in the Administration. The Liberals have shown a spirit of such bitter hostility to England that I cannot wish for them, but if Polignac's appointment is to prevent your coming to Howick, I shall be very sorry indeed to see him Minister. I have always said that your coming was too great a pleasure for me to look to it with any confidence. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most devotedly,

GREY.

P.S.—The Government steamboat is ordered to take the Duke of Cumberland to Calais to meet the Duchess.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,
Aug. 3rd, 1829.

I received yesterday, my dear lord, the little note you wrote me as you were leaving London, and I send you this to Lambton Castle according to your directions. There is no interesting news from any quarter; at least, none up to the moment at which I am writing. On June 30 the Ambassadors had not yet had their audiences of the Sultan. At Constantinople they still knew nothing, or, at least, pretended to know nothing, of the Grand Vizier's defeat.* Even your Ambassador did not know the truth in this matter.

In Paris, as far as I can learn, the utmost uncertainty still reigns on the subject of the Ministerial changes; and the greatest disquietude is manifested lest M. de Polignac should come in. In truth this would be the greatest of misfortunes, and, Heaven knows, perhaps the immediate effect of it all would be a revolution in France, or, at any rate, very dangerous political complications.

Aug. 5th.—My letter has remained unfinished since yesterday. . . . And now I must say good-bye to you and close this most stupid epistle.

The Duchess of Cumberland is expected to arrive in London to-morrow. I shall go into town, for the day, as soon as I hear that she has actually come. I see the *Times* is already beginning its attack on her; this is really too bad.

* On June 11, at Koulevtcha.

Write to me, I beg you. If I hear any news that is worth sending, I shall not wait for your answer before again taking pen in hand. Have I told you that the Esterhazys have been spending two days here? My husband did not meet them. I saw them one evening at Lord Aberdeen's, and Esterhazy behaved so stupidly and rudely to me that Agar-Ellis, who had invited both Aberdeen and us to dine with him the next day, did not think it well to ask Esterhazy to be of the party. The result was that, finding himself left out in the cold, he took it into his head to leave Tunbridge. He is really but a poor creature. We have Clanwilliam here too; he likes drawing-room company, but when he is in mine I am always careful to keep him rather at a distance, and then everything goes excellently well.

Good-bye once more, my dear lord; as you see, with you I imagine I have the right to go on gossiping even when I have nothing worth the telling.

A thousand regards.

Howick,
Aug. 8th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I cannot suffer a post to pass without thanking you for your agreeable letter of the 4th, which I received this morning. We arrived here yesterday. . . .

I have thought little of politics since I left London, and have heard less, not having had a single letter from anybody who writes on such subjects. I see the *Standard* perseveres in confident and reiterated asser-

tions (in contradiction to the *Courier*) of there having been some offer made on the part of the Duke of Wellington to the high Tories. I do not in general pay much attention to newspaper information of this description, but there is something in the manner in which this fact is alleged that prevents my altogether disbelieving it. I look with great anxiety to the result of the negotiation at Constantinople, my wishes being incessantly for peace. Peace on terms which, under all the circumstances of the moment, shall be advantageous to all parties. I have so much confidence in your assurances, that, placed as you now are in a situation in which you can be moderate without any appearance of dishonour, I believe this might be effected by good management and a conciliatory spirit. But I confess I do not augur well of a negotiation that commences on the principles of that absurd protocol, with the strange measure taken on the subject of the Greek blockade, and a disagreement (as I am informed has been the case) between the French and English Ambassadors on that matter. But we shall see, and I will form no decided opinion till I have the whole case before me.

My son sends me very good accounts of the state of Ireland. He was present at the election of O'Connell;* did not admire his speech, though bribed by a compliment to me (of which I do not feel at all proud), but thought that the conduct of O'Connell and his supporters, now that this object has been accomplished, indicated a disposition to be quiet. Not so, however, the Orange gentry, who appear more bitter than ever, and seek every opportunity of both

* Re-elected for Clare after the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill.

speaking and acting in a way to keep up a spirit of hostility between the two parties.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

P.S.—What a goose Esterhazy must be !

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Aug. 11th, 1829.

I have received nothing from you, my dear lord, since you left London, but none the less, I commence a letter, for we have received some news. I begin by the bad news. France has an ultra-Conservative Government, and M. de Polignac is the Minister of Foreign Affairs.* I have already told you this would be a misfortune for Europe ; I would now add that it must equally be a misfortune for France, and this you will see for yourself before very long. Revolutionary movements cannot fail to be the consequence of this nomination. What blindness it is on the part of the poor King !

For other news, we have crossed the Balkans in the quarter next the sea.† In Asia Count Paskievitch has routed two Turkish armies, one after the other, within the space of five-and-twenty hours ; has seized the camp and thirty cannon belonging to one of the

* On July 30 Charles X. dissolved the Chambers, and seized the opportunity to dismiss M. de Martignac and his colleagues. At the head of the new ministry was Prince Jules de Polignac, lately Ambassador in London.

† On July 11 General Diebitsch, after masking the enemy's position at Shumla, decided on crossing the Balkans. The movement was effected in nine days, and the war was then carried into the heart of Roumelia.

Pashas in command, and taken the Pasha himself prisoner. Following up this success, he was marching on Erzeroum, and was only forty English miles from that city when the messenger left.

At Constantinople the Divan has rejected all the proposals made by the Ambassadors, and will listen to nothing but the submission pure and simple of the Greeks, to whom, on this condition, pardon will be granted. So here are the allied Powers nicely advanced in their mission, and the return of the Ambassadors is meeting with its due reward. The Turks regard their coming back merely as a proof of protection, and of the interest taken in them by the Powers, their obstinacy and pride being the more confirmed thereby. I think you, too, had foreseen all this. What is the Conference going to do now ?

I went up to town yesterday to see the Duchess of Cumberland. She is going to Windsor to-morrow, and will stay there for three days. The whole of the Royal Family is to assemble there to-morrow, also the Esterhazys, the Duke of Wellington, the Chancellor,* and Lord Aberdeen. I presume it is the presence there of his Ministers that has prevented the King inviting us. I am going to try and obtain a copy of a curious correspondence that has been going on between the Duke of Cumberland and the Chancellor, on the subject of Lady Lyndhurst. I had the original letters in my hands at one time, and I could not have imagined that any creature existed so vile and so mean as the Chancellor has shown himself to be. One of his letters is a perfect model of infamy.

It appears that the Duchess of Cumberland is to

* Lord Lyndhurst.

pass the winter in England. Matuscewitz has already come back from Paris, and is now gone down to shoot with the Duke of Rutland.

We have here the pleasantest company possible: the Cowpers, the Agar-Ellises, for a few days still; Lord Aberdeen, with whom I am great friends, and the Granvilles arrive to-morrow. We dine every day at five, at seven we go out driving in pony-chaises, then drink tea, and remain together till ten o'clock. In the mornings we make long excursions into the neighbouring country. Really, the only thing wanted is your society, my dear lord, to make the life here quite perfect.

We went the other day to see Lord Abergavenny's house and park,* and as it was only to Russia that he had granted permission to see the place, Lord Aberdeen had to resign himself for two whole hours to pass for a Russian subject. He played the part, however, with extreme good grace.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I am rather fatigued by my trip up to town and back yesterday, and, above all, by four hours of sitting with the Duchess of Cumberland who is an excellent person, but of whom one never can take one's leave.

Now, pray write to me, and do not forget me.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Aug. 13th, 1829.

I have to thank you, my dear lord, for your letter of the 9th, which I received a few hours after

* Bridge Castle.

having despatched my last to you. . . . I am extremely curious to hear what Lord Aberdeen will have to say on the events that have recently taken place in France. What has happened has gone even beyond their desires, that is to say, it will possibly have caused the Duke of Wellington to repent of the part he has taken in bringing it about. He did not look to so complete a revolution, and is too far-sighted ever to have wished it. None the less, however, it is he who urged the appointment, and it is he who has brought it all about. This is a fact well known in France, and (as it must be allowed) tacitly admitted even over here. The last authoritative word was spoken from here, that is, on Monday last (the 3rd), following on the Cabinet Council that had been held the previous day. They then sent Lord Stuart* orders to do everything in his power to alarm the King, and to make him understand the urgency of naming Polignac Premier at once. On the 8th he was made Premier. All this haste, and the subsequent remonstrances, were caused by the news they were receiving at the time from Petersburg and Vienna. Lord Heytesbury sent word that we had decided to cross the Balkans, and should then force the Sultan to accept peace. Metternich wrote to the same effect, adding that the Turks had no longer any army to oppose to us. He further complained of the inaction of the British Government, and declared that for the future he must let himself be guided by events as they occurred. Your Government hopes the present reign of the Ultras in France will make a complete change in French politics, that she will become

* Lord Stuart de Rothsay, Ambassador at Paris.

philo-Turk,* and that our onward march will now be stopped.

Now, my dear lord, pray look which side is really in the wrong. Your friendly dealings with the Turks, and the return of the Ambassadors to Constantinople, have puffed up the pride of the Moslems; they now consider themselves under protection; they reject all our offers of peace; and they refuse even to listen to the propositions of the Ambassadors with regard to Greece, and go so far as to deny that these are in this matter the Plenipotentiaries acting in the name of the allied Powers. In other words, while, on the one hand, they are insulting you, they force us to go on with a war which cannot but end fatally for them. In spite of all this, the Emperor still maintains his attitude of moderation. Prussia has just despatched a special Envoy† to Constantinople, to assure the Sultan of the Emperor's willingness to put an end to the war; re-stating his desire for peace; and assuring the Porte of the generosity which he, the Emperor, is determined to show in the interpretation of those conditions for peace which were set forth in his declaration at the very commencement of the war. The Emperor urges the Sultan to send plenipotentiaries to treat with him for the peace; pointing out at the same time that he will only listen to negotiations made directly to him, and will have no intervention of any sort on the part of any other Power. The King of Prussia urges the allies to join him in advising the Porte to agree to our demands, and by this disabuse the Moslems of their

* M. de Martignac had been altogether on the side of Russia, and one of his chief supporters had been Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian Envoy at Paris.

† General Müffling.

fatal error that they are to be protected against us, and may, therefore, with impunity, reject all our advances. Now is the time for arranging everything; let the allies only act frankly, showing confidence in the word of the Emperor, and the peace will be signed in six weeks. If they will not do this, you will see what an embroglio we shall all be in once more!

In France, Polignac's appointment has caused the greatest consternation. Even the Dauphiness, Ultra as she is, is alarmed at the change. She told the King that the very name of Polignac was fatal to France.* As to himself (Polignac), he is full of courage, and will brave it all out—at least, so they say. Read his manifesto as given in the English papers (it is taken from the *Gazette de France*, which is now the Ministerial organ). The document announces the principles which the Government intends following, and they certainly are such as may well upset the coach, for, after all, France at the present day is under a Constitution, and will refuse to go back to the old *régime*. I think that the end of it all may very well be the final overthrow of the Bourbons.† The Duke of Orleans is not the man to complain. He will bide his time patiently.

Here is a very long letter, my dear lord, but the text, in truth, would furnish matter for volumes of commentary. Our army is always on the advance. Diebitsch manœuvres so as best to spare his troops. A considerable reinforcement is shortly to arrive at the army-corps before Shumla, and they think the Grand Vizier will be forced to abandon that position. Adieu, my dear lord, write to me, and count on my

* He was the son of Marie Antoinette's favourite, the Duc de Polignac.

† As, in fact, it proved.

writing to you. I hope in my next to be able to send you this famous correspondence between the Duke of Cumberland and the Chancellor.

A thousand kindest regards.

Howick,

Aug. 14th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your letter of the 11th. I wrote to you immediately after my arrival here, and have no doubt that my letter must have reached you the day after you wrote.

I think I told you that Flahault's account represented the change of Administration, that has since taken place in France, as not improbable. It certainly, however, was not expected here. I know that the Ministers thought that things would go on as they were, at least till near the time of the meeting of the Chambers; and from the despatches of Lord Stuart it seems clear that he was not in the secret. From this fact I hope we may conclude that, whatever may have been the causes of this event, the Duke of Wellington had nothing to do with it. I say I hope so, because if he had it would lead me to expect the adoption of a line of policy by this Government which would not be likely to accord with my principles and opinions. Indeed, in whatever view I look at this event, I see too much reason to fear its consequences. If the Administration can maintain itself, I cannot regard, without some apprehension, the effect which a league between Austria, France, and England, may have on the character of our measures at home, and on the composition of the Government. If it fails, whether with

more or less of commotion in France, I dread the succession of a Ministry inflamed with increased animosity against this country, and the consequent danger to the peace of Europe. But I must wait for better means of forming an opinion. In the meantime I congratulate myself on being quite aloof from all parties, free from all responsibility, and at liberty to act, according to circumstances, as I may think fit.

Your successes, both in Europe and in Asia, would make the pertinacity of the Porte quite inconceivable if we did not know the infatuation and obstinacy of that Government, which certainly were not likely to be diminished by the conduct of the negotiation at Constantinople. I conclude with my usual prayer that Providence, if not our own policy, may prevent any interruption to the peace of Europe.

The description of your life at Tunbridge is quite delightful. Here all our enjoyments have been stopped by the badness of the weather. . . . I shall be provoked if this continues during your visit. But will you come? You once talked as if the appointment of Polignac would prevent you. If it has this effect, it will be difficult to reconcile me to it.

Lady Lyndhurst told me her adventure with the Duke of Cumberland.* She described it as a most brutal attack on his part, followed by the most violent denunciation of revenge. I had not heard of any correspondence, and should like very much to see that which you mention. Pray send it to me if you can. I suppose a Chancellor could not fight; but if he wrote

* The story of the gross insult offered by the Duke of Cumberland to Lady Lyndhurst is detailed in the 'Greville Memoirs,' under the date of August 8, 1829, vol. i., p. 222.

in consequence of such an outrage as was described to me, it ought to have been only in terms of the strongest indignation. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

Howick,
Aug. 18th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received yesterday your letter of the 13th. . . . From the general stillness that prevails one might almost forget that we had either a Parliament or a Government, or that anything was passing in the world which could affect our interests or our safety. What is to follow this calm? That it cannot continue long is certain, and we must look to events from which will arise great good or great evil. Has the Duke of Wellington some new *coup d'éclat** in preparation which is to astonish us all? If he has, I only hope it may be as sound in principle and as justifiable in policy as that of the last session.† I hear he was graciously received by the King on the last birthday. But is it not a rather singular state for a Minister to be in, that it should be thought important to state that, having been invited by his Sovereign, he was treated with civility and attention?

I have no new observations to make on what you say respecting your affairs in the East. I am very glad to find that you still think peace might be made on just and moderate principles, and I will hope, though my hopes every day become fainter, that there may be wisdom enough in the different Governments of Europe not to suffer the opportunity to be lost.

* *Sic.*

† The Catholic Relief Bill.

The experiment of this new Government in France appears to me, the more I think of it, more and more alarming. I do not wonder that the Liberal party in France should suspect the Duke of Wellington of having interfered. From what I stated to you in my last, I still hope that this may not have been the case, and for the reasons I then gave you I must cherish that hope as long as I can. If the change had immediately resulted from an instruction sent from here, it could not have occasioned so much surprise as I know it did; and even you seemed to think that our Ministers were alarmed at the extent to which it has gone.

I am very curious about the Chancellor's correspondence, and expect it with impatience. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,

Aug. 21st, 1829.

You must not scold me, my dear lord, for my long silence. In truth it has been entirely against my wish, but all my time has been taken up by Lady Cowper. From eleven in the morning till ten o'clock at night I have been her slave. She left us an hour ago, and I now hasten to thank you for your two letters of the 14th and 18th, received since I last wrote.

In what you say about the French Ministry, and the part your Government may have played in bringing it into office, you seem, my dear lord, to ignore the fact that Polignac already had made the attempt to form three Ministries, the which attempts,

however, had each in turn come to nothing, because moderate politicians would not take office under him. The exact facts of the case are these. The Duke of Wellington wanted to have Polignac at the head of the French Government. Of this there can be no doubt. He did not, however, trouble himself about the subordinates. When, therefore, he learnt that all Polignac's attempts to gain over members of the former Government had failed, as likewise his offers to Ravez and Lainé (and later on to Casimir Périer); further, that the King of France, seeing all these difficulties, declared he wished for no change of Government until the Chambers met again—then (as I wrote to you), just at the moment when the Government was getting very anxious about the news from the East, the Duke of Wellington sent word to your Ambassador in Paris giving positive orders to insist on Polignac being called to office. Hereupon, within the space of forty-eight hours, Polignac got together such colleagues as he best could, and formed the Government which is now driving France God knows where. To me it appears that your Government has been guilty of grave error, or, at least, of great want of logic. For how, after having seen the impossibility of any amalgamation between Polignac and the moderate party, can they have insisted on his being set at the head of the Administration? They must have known that this could only become possible by his taking up with the Ultras. The Duke of Wellington, however—who is fain to have someone at the head of the Government in France who is devoted to his own principles in politics, and ready to aid him in the solution of the problems that confront him on all sides—

has lost sight of everything except the necessity of the moment. You must admit, too, that this is exactly his Grace's method of Government : to face the embarrassments of to-day, and never to look forward to to-morrow. In the present case, however, he will find himself at fault, for it will be impossible for the French Ministers, with the whole nation on the watch against them—and the hatred, you must see, is unanimous—for them, I repeat, to enter into any political combination with England. To do so would justify too completely the opinion current throughout France, that this Ministry is one set up by England and Austria. The storm raging against Polignac is frightful, and I do not imagine public opinion in France will cool down on this point. The late Ministry found difficulty in carrying on business, because they were considered too much devoted to the Court—how, then, can the present Administration manage to act? But this is enough about France.

As to the news from the East, you will judge of that as well from Howick as can be done here in London. The fall of Erzeroum is a most important event.* All the Turkish authorities in Asia are now prisoners and in our power, which means this, that the Government there exists no longer. How all these people allowed themselves to be taken prisoners in this way is a point I am unable to explain, unless it be that the whole nation feels itself discouraged, in which case the Sultan's affairs are, indeed, in a bad way. In Europe our advance goes on systematically and solidly. The Balkans, which up to the present have always proved an

* Erzeroum, the capital of Anatolia, surrendered to Count Paskievitch, July 10. The Seraskier and four of his principal pashas were among the prisoners.

impassable barrier, have been passed. Your Ministers imagine a revolution is about to break out in Turkey ; meanwhile, the Sultan places his trust in you, and refuses all proposals for peace. And, as I have told you, he also refuses to listen to any proposals from the allies, as regards the affairs of Greece. But how, in the name of goodness, can matters have been managed so as to come to this pass ! Have I not repeated to you, during all the past year, that words would never bring the Turks to reason ? And then, too, whether Turk or Christian, any power flattered as the Turks have been by your protestations of interest and friendship would have had good reason to believe itself under your protection, and hence have acted as these Moslems have done. Where will it all end ? It is very evident that we must push on the war so long as they are unwilling to make peace. Peace, I repeat, could still be made, even at the present moment, and with generous terms allowed on our part ; but then, for this to be, it is you who would have to be Premier.

But what an imprudent letter I am writing ! Are you very sure they do not open and read at the Post-Office what I write you ?

I have at last received the famous correspondence, and am going to set about copying it. I will send it on to you under a separate cover. Pray let me know it reaches you safely. I rely also, my dear lord, that in no case will it become known it was from me you obtained cognizance of the affair. As it is, I am not sufficiently in favour with your Ministers for me to wish this further sin to be added to my charge. On the other hand, I think I owe it to the many years of friendship which the Duke of Cum-

berland has shown me, to do him justice, when the opportunity thus presents itself, in the eyes of a man like yourself; and I think in the present instance he has a clear case in his favour. If all the Chancellor's wife has said were true, the Duke would certainly not have begun this correspondence, and would not have taken up the tone he does.

But I am interrupted, and have only time to add a hurried good-bye. I will write again to-morrow when I send the letters.

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,
Aug. 23rd, 1829.

With this letter, my dear lord, you will receive a packet containing the correspondence.* To my mind, the mere fact that the Duke of Cumberland began this correspondence proves him to be innocent of the charge laid to his account. His two first letters are perfect; the answers from the Chancellor are miserable productions—trying to evade the question, and failing therein. The Duke's third letter I do not like, and I think it a very weak reply to the insolent paragraph which ends the Chancellor's second letter. As to the Chancellor's third and last letter, it would certainly not satisfy me, if I were in the Duke of Cumberland's place; but, then, each must judge for himself—the whole affair is, after all, a bad piece of business, whichever way you look at it.

* These letters of Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Cumberland are not preserved.

We are now in the last days of our stay at Tunbridge. I leave the place with much regret. . . .

Lord Aberdeen seems to me to be growing anxious about Polignac: he is beginning to foresee the consequences of it all; and these will be grave. He was dining with us last night, and when Lady Granville spoke rather jestingly of the genius M. de Polignac was displaying, he answered tartly that he, for his part, considered him to be a very clever man, and that the Duke of Wellington goes even beyond, declaring 'that he is the cleverest Minister France has had since the Restoration.' This assertion produced the desired effect; that is to say, it brought the conversation to a close, but from sheer astonishment on our part, and not from any feeling of respect for such an absurd opinion. Really, I never get over my astonishment as regards your Ministers!

The accounts received from Paris are unanimous as to the unpopularity of the new Administration. There is not a single Frenchman who does not look on M. de Polignac as a puppet set up by England. We are to have the Duc de Laval Montmorency for French Ambassador in London.

Our successes in Turkey have been rapid, and the occupation of Burgas and Aïdos, with two other seaports, throws open the whole route to Constantinople. I do not know whether it is part of Diebitsch's plan of campaign to march on the capital, but, according to what Lord Aberdeen says, nothing now would prevent his going there. The Turks are showing no more fight; from what he told me, they gave up Burgas without striking a blow. We as yet know no details of this last event. Meanwhile, the Sultan will not

listen to a word about any peace with us, or about the carrying out of the Treaty of London with the other Governments.

Adieu, my dear lord. With sincere pleasure I now see the time approaching when we shall meet. . . .

Yours ever, with a thousand regards,

D. LIEVEN.

Aug. 26th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 21st on Monday, but as I expected the correspondence by the following post, I deferred answering it. As we have no post here from the South on Tuesdays, it was not till this morning that your letter of the 23rd, with the accompanying correspondence, reached me.

On this I have little more to say than that it is, to use your words, *une fort méchante affaire*, which it is equally the interest of all parties to have consigned to oblivion as soon as possible. I do not think the Duke of Cumberland's having commenced this correspondence a proof of his innocence. He risked nothing. The Chancellor could not take it up in the tone that another man might have used; and Lady Lyndhurst was placed in a situation from which she could not escape without damage, as everybody who heard the story would at once conclude that no woman could be exposed to such an attack, as had been reported, without having in some degree brought it on herself. The Chancellor's letters are no doubt evasive, but instead of the contradiction which he requires, the Duke ends by obtaining nothing but a strong enunciation of the

truth of the principal part of the charge. I revert then to the conclusion with which I began—*C'est une fort méchante affaire.*

Constantinople is evidently at your mercy. Wherever the fault may have been that has produced this result, you have no reason to complain of it. The cards have been played in the most advantageous manner for you, and I must acknowledge, as far as I am at present able to form a judgment from such information as I possess, that the skill of your diplomacy has not been inferior to the success of your arms. My only hope now is that the generosity and moderation which you have professed may still put an end to this war in such a way as to prevent any interruption of the peace of Europe. But will your Emperor, with such a prize as Constantinople within the grasp of his victorious army, be able, even if willing, to stop? May we not look for a new *tour d'arlequin* from Metternich? who, having by his counsels urged the Turks on to their destruction, will not probably be unwilling now to declare against them, that Austria may come in for a share of the spoil.

I quite agree with you in thinking that the measures of the French Ministry will turn out very differently from what are expected, if it be true that the change was occasioned by our endeavours, and for the purpose of making the policy of France subservient to our interests. Nothing is more probable than that Polignac, to diminish the opposition, which has been so much strengthened and excited by the opinion that he is acting under English influence, may be induced or compelled to take a directly opposite course. This probability is very much increased by what I have

heard this morning, if it be true, that Pozzo now says he is convinced the change was not owing to our interference, and that it was necessary for the support of the monarchy. You will know whether there is any foundation for this. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Aug. 29th, 1829.

I have received at this moment, my dear lord, your letter of the 26th, and thank you greatly for it. Up to the present moment of my writing to you we foresee nothing that should prevent the accomplishment of our projected journey, and we shall leave London on the 10th at latest. . . .

Lord Aberdeen reports that according to letters from his brother* at Constantinople, of the 7th, the Sultan is at last beginning to get frightened, and was going to send plenipotentiaries to Diebitsch to beg for peace. This being so, your Ministers imagine that everything is at an end. I fear they will be mistaken, and that this manœuvre on the Sultan's part, even if it be actually carried into effect, is only a means of gaining time and putting off the danger. Further, unless the Turks are prepared to accept our conditions without any delay (and I do not even know whether Diebitsch is authorized to sign a peace), the advance of our troops will not be stopped by this move of theirs.

* Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Gordon, who had replaced Sir S. Canning in the Embassy at Constantinople.

It is unknown to me whether it be part of Diebitsch's plan to march on Constantinople, or even whether he has a sufficient number of men for that purpose. He has shown throughout so much prudence and foresight that he will certainly now leave nothing to chance. Reinforcements were to be sent him both by sea and by land, and if the last great blow is not already struck, doubtless it will be so before long. Be sure, my dear lord, that the Emperor will always act wisely, but at the same time will keep in view the permanent interests of his country, and that these always are, and will be, *no conquests*. So comfort yourself on the matter of peace in Europe. The peace will not be broken unless it be your Government that absolutely insists on so doing. All you say, both on affairs in the East and on what is passing in France, is perfectly just. In reference to the first I cannot refrain from quoting you a *bon mot*, which comes in support of what you prophesy with regard to Austria. '*Après avoir mal mené, elle demande pourboire.*'* This was written to me the other day by a very clever man, who knows all the details of what is going on.

What you tell me about Pozzo† must have originated at English headquarters, for Aberdeen also told it me and he got it in Stuart's despatches. All I can say is that you have a very ill-informed Ambassador in Paris. Pozzo is far too well acquainted with what goes on, not to know that Polignac is a British importation. He is far too good a Frenchman to like an Administration which sets the King at variance with the nation. I

* 'After driving badly, they still want a tip.'

† Count Pozzo di Borgo, a Corsican by birth, had been in the Russian service since the Peace of Amiens. He was at this time Russian Ambassador in Paris.

would further say that he is too good an Ambassador of Russia not to rejoice at discovering that these new Ministers are impotent to carry out the hostile policy of your Government against us. To conclude the matter, I may add that he is too clever a man not to laugh in his sleeve at this great stroke which has thus failed utterly.

The Chancellor has been within an ace of drowning himself, and Lady Lyndhurst had a *fausse couche* in consequence. All this took place at Walmer Castle, where they have been staying for some time past. The other guests have been Mrs. Fox Lane and Mrs. Arbuthnot. Before that Madame Esterhazy was there—four *most* distinguished women. . . .

Adieu, my dear lord ; I shall probably only need to write to you once again.

A thousand regards.

Howick,

Aug. 31st, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Few things could have given me so much pleasure as the letter which I received from you this morning. You speak positively of a day for the beginning of your journey, and I will no longer believe it possible that I can be disappointed. . . .

As you say nothing of it, I suppose the report of a battle at Kirk-Kilissi (I don't know whether I spell the word right)* is not true, but it makes little difference as to the result. I hope Diebitsch has authority to make peace on the Sultan's subscribing to your

* The Russians occupied Kirk Kilissa, a considerable town lying to the north-east of Adrianople, on August 20.

terms. It would not look well to proceed to the attack of Constantinople after such an offer, provided always that it is made *de bonne foi*, and that you have sufficient security for its performance. Your *bon mot* on Metternich is excellent. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Sept. 4th, 1829.

I owe you my very best thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 1st. . . . You may count on my keeping you acquainted very precisely with our movements, and you may be sure we shall come down to Howick, for that is a matter on which we are resolved.

The Turks appear to be getting anxious, but not sufficiently so. They want peace, but want it on their own terms—that is, treating *us* as the conquered party, and from this point of view nothing can be done. We, on the other hand, likewise wish for peace, and the moderation we are showing will prove that our wish is sincere. For who can doubt that at this present moment the very existence of the Ottoman Power is at our mercy? Well, my dear lord, you will see to what use the Emperor will put the great power that lies in his hands. But once again I remind you of what I said before—the Duke of Wellington, who has had no more to do with it than your son, will now arrogate to himself the honours of it all. I shall have very curious stories to recount to you at Howick.

The success Donna Maria's troops have met with

at Terceira* is as complete as can be imagined. It was the people of the island who did the business, which shows how very inexact was the assertion made by the English Ministry to the effect that the people of Terceira were ill-disposed towards the little Queen.

There is no fresh news from Paris. M. de Chateaubriand's intention to resign had been known for some time.† His opposition to the Ministers is certain to be both bitter and active. This wretched Ministry, however, is now itself being almost forgotten; for since they are incapacitated from doing any harm in foreign politics, people talk no more about them.

We go to-day to Windsor for a few days, and on Monday to Panshanger. I do not know whether or not I am to meet any of your Ministers at the first of these places.

Adieu, my dear lord, for I am hurried, and the carriage is already at the door. I will write again when I come back from Windsor.

A thousand regards.

Howick,
Sept. 8th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 5th. . . . How did your visit to Windsor go off? Was the King gracious? If you told him that you were coming here, it probably would not have the effect of

* An expedition despatched from Lisbon in June, by Don Miguel, to effect the reduction of Terceira, was completely defeated by Count Villa Flor, who headed the Constitutionalists. The Miguellites lost nearly a thousand of their men, and the commander of the expedition died of his wounds during the course of his voyage back to Lisbon.

† He was French Ambassador in Rome, but resigned on the formation of the Polignac Administration.

making him so. I will say nothing more on public affairs till we meet—indeed, till I know more, I could say nothing that would not be ‘flat and unprofitable.’

If Polignac has nothing more formidable than Chateaubriand to fear, I do not think him in much danger. I have set down that gentleman as a great charlatan; but I am, perhaps, wrong in doing so.

I am getting more and more stupid, so farewell for the present. I hope I shall not have to write again.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,

Sept. 9th, 1829.

We shall not get away on the 12th, my dear lord, and this is the only point at present certain; everything else appears to me incomprehensibly vague. . . .

There is no news from the Continent. The Turks are making a pretence of submitting themselves. They state that they accept the Treaty of London, but make reserves and conditions which render their so-called acceptance a farce. They say they want to make peace, but they send us no plenipotentiaries. In a word, they continue playing the old game. At this rate they will not get much business done. The reinforcements Diebitsch was waiting for will have been ready to set out on their march towards Constantinople on the 20th of last month; and so very shortly we ought to get some news.

We are just back from spending a few days at the

Lodge.* There were only the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and Lord Aberdeen in the way of guests. The remainder of the company was the ordinary suite in waiting. Matuscewitz was invited there one day, and on the occasion of his presence the King made a very amiable speech at table. He spoke of the pleasure our successes in Turkey had given him, referred to the perfect confidence he always placed in the Emperor's word, and spoke of his Majesty in terms of highest eulogy. In conclusion, he drank to the Emperor's health, and for this turned to Lord Aberdeen,† who managed to swallow down his glass with a pretty good grace.

The King has lost the use of one eye, and they fear the cataract is now going to form over the other. All this tends to sadden him, but in other points his health is excellent. My husband has met the Duke of Wellington at two of the conferences. Your first Minister takes every pains to prove his great amiability and sincere friendship towards us, also to show what perfect confidence he feels in the generous conduct of the Emperor. It is now the order of the day to profess a belief in this, for it has been discovered the best game to play. But might they not have found this out sooner? Those who can fight and defend themselves are always sure to be in the right. We are not bad-hearted people, however; we take your friendship of to-day, as we took your hatred of old—as current coin of the hour merely.

I shall be here still for some days, and we are now almost the only people left. The Duchess of Cumber-

* Windsor.

† Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and known to have strong Turkish sympathies.

land is treated by the King with every consideration and friendliness. She seems to bore the Marchioness* somewhat. The latter personage appears to me to have improved her position. She is treated as Queen. The King gives her the right-hand place over the Duchess of Cumberland.

Such, my lord, is my budget of news. Write to me, pray, but do not count on seeing me at Howick till I write to say I am coming. Be assured, however, the letter telling you this will arrive before the close of the month, as also I myself in person.

A thousand regards.

[On August 20 the Russian armies appeared before Adrianople, and General Diebitsch took possession of this place, the second city of European Turkey, without firing a shot.]

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Sept. 12th, 1829.

I have to thank you, my dear lord, for your letter of the 8th, but I have as yet no precise news to send you of the date of our departure. There is to-day another conference in London, and my husband went up for it this morning. The Duke of Wellington is also coming to town for it. I know not if this meeting will throw any light on the future—indeed, I doubt it. Your Government now wishes to circumscribe the proposed Greek frontiers. We desire them to be those which were laid down in the Protocol of the 22nd of March, and assuming that our victories have

* Lady Conyngham.

at last placed us in a position enabling us to carry out the wishes of the Allied Powers, I hardly see why we should draw back. Further, I cannot conceive why your Government, at the present day, desire Greece to have less territory than they wished her to have in the month of March. It is a contradiction founded, I think, neither on logic, nor on equity, nor on political needs. For Greece is either to exist as a Power, or she is not to exist. If she is to be called into being, the country must be constituted in such a manner as to stand alone. If they do not wish her to exist, why, they have already gone much too far in the matter, and it would have been better never to have raised the Greek Question at all. There are wishes and caprices in all this affair which utterly confound me.

The taking of Adrianople came about in the most satisfactory manner. The inhabitants, fearing the consequences of an occupation by Asiatic troops, begged to put themselves under our protection. Your Consul at Adrianople sends details of the event to Lord Aberdeen, writing on the 20th ultimo, and concludes by saying that the most perfect tranquillity reigned throughout the city. Diebitsch only occupied the town with 3,000 men, keeping the bulk of the army at Kirk Kilissa, from whence he was to march on Constantinople. The whole population appear to have shown themselves in our favour; but what is become, then, of Turkish fanaticism?

The accounts received from Gordon come down to the 17th. They were then less anxious at Constantinople. They imagined Diebitsch would have halted longer at Aïdos than he actually did. The Sultan had sent orders to the Grand Vizier, telling him to despatch

Plenipotentiaries to Diebitsch to treat for peace. But this was a very indirect road by which to set matters going, for they did not even know where the Grand Vizier at that moment was to be found. The troops sent from Constantinople, to succour Adrianople, disbanded themselves before reaching that city. All the above was told us yesterday by Lord Aberdeen, who came down here for the day. . . .

Adieu, my dear lord; my next letter will, I hope, acquaint you with the date of my arrival at Howick.

I await the time with very lively impatience.

Howick,
Sept. 14th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your letters of the 9th and 12th, though they have caused me a sad disappointment. . . . But I will still hope that you may be able, as you promise, to announce in your next letter the day of your departure.

What you say and what I read in the papers considerably damps my hopes of peace. I can easily believe that our Ministers see the necessity of bringing the Turks to submit to the exigencies of their situation. But are our measures, even at this last moment, of such a character as is likely to produce that effect? Or is it to be expected, if the Porte does not at once subscribe to the terms of peace, which, at Berlin, the Emperor professed himself ready to accept, that you should suspend the march of your armies, and thus give up, perhaps, some of the advantages which you possess? I expect, therefore, to hear that you have advanced to Constantinople, and that this capital is in

your possession, for it is quite clear that there exist no longer any means of resistance. Then comes a fearful question for the peace of Europe. How are the European dominions of the Porte to be disposed of? For though the Turkish Empire is in such a state of almost absolute dissolution as to render its re-establishment nearly impossible, still, if it could be upheld for a time, it would be of great advantage to provide for that event, which, if forced suddenly upon us when unprepared for it by the capture of the capital, might make a peaceable arrangement more difficult. That this danger has been incurred—I will fairly acknowledge—does not appear to me to be chargeable upon you. You have acted (saving always the question of the origin of the war), since the commencement of hostilities, as the interests of your country required. But it is in vain to look back to the errors which have brought things to the state in which they are. The object now should be to prevent the misfortunes which may result from them, which can only be done by measures equally marked by prudence and by justice.

As I am in the way of speaking with freedom, I will further acknowledge that all I know of the conduct of our Government puzzles and confounds me. But I will not condemn till I have heard all that can be said in explanation or defence of it. But I have no hesitation in pronouncing at once that nothing can be more futile than any haggling at this moment about the limits of Greece. If we were to interfere at all, it should have been, as you say, to settle the question at once and for ever, if this can be done in the affairs of nations. For this purpose the more extended frontier is certainly the right one. I am, therefore, decidedly

for the boundary of Volo and Arta, unless, as I am inclined to think from my map, that an equally advantageous and, perhaps, more defensible line could be taken from a point above Zeitoun, running along the limits of Livadia to a point beyond Lepanto, including, of course, a sufficient territory for the defence of the Straits. Think of this as the ground of a practicable compromise, if there still should be a desire to confine the limits of the new Grecian State—which, I confess, appears to me quite incomprehensible—within a narrower circle than that which was proffered in the Protocol of March 22. I feel that I am foolish in saying so much on matters with respect to which my means of information are so limited ; as foolish, but not so imprudent, as a King who makes a speech professing feelings and opinions which, at the very moment, his Ministers may be counteracting, and against which he may find himself compelled to act. I have no reason to praise the old King, but he certainly had a more just sense of what was required by his situation. As to the ‘Marquise,’ it is natural that her influence should increase, as she becomes more necessary to the King from his increasing infirmities.

What do they say in London of the court-martial ? As I read it I am sorry to say I do not think my friend Codrington makes a good figure.*

Here is a very long and, I fear, a very stupid letter. I will not read it over again, that I may not be tempted to throw it into the fire.

* Sir E. Codrington, after a lapse of nearly two years from the date of the Battle of Navarino, had taken occasion, in a letter to the Admiralty, to make very serious charges against the conduct of Captain Dickenson, who had succeeded to the command of the *Genoa* on the death of Captain Bathurst, killed during the action. Captain Dickenson was honourably acquitted of all the charges.

We expect the Salisburys here to-morrow, but, I believe, only for a very short visit; and as everybody is now passed to Doncaster, I have no chance of getting anybody to meet you, except the Tankervilles.

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 16th, 1829.

We came back yesterday from Panshanger, and this morning, my dear lord, I received your letter of the 14th. I reply by return of post. All you say of the present position of affairs is perfectly just. As regards Greece, both common-sense and common justice demand that we should carry out to-day what we intended should be done on March 22 last. The frontier you indicate might form a middle term, but the one chosen in the first instance has been preferred, for this gives a natural boundary, and thus enables the new State to dispense with maintaining any very considerable military establishment, which would, indeed, be beyond its present means. On Saturday the conference meets again to consider this point; but if your Ministers still insist on their 'Morea,'* they will get no business done at all, for Russia and France cannot agree to help you to carry out such a piece of stupidity. *Your* frontier, however, shall not be forgotten, and in every case I thank you for the suggestion.

The great crisis in the affairs of the East must have been decided some ten days ago, and before another

* The English Government at this date wished to confine the new Greek State to the narrow limits of the Morea.

week passes we ought to hear of the conclusion of peace, or of the taking of Constantinople, since there are but these two issues possible. Count Nesselrode sent my husband, some days ago, a copy of the answer the Grand Vizier gave to the peace proposals, which Diebitsch had made on the morrow of the Battle of Koulevtcha.* These proposals bore date of June 16. The reply is written on July 30, and this reply is not an acceptance of any basis for the negotiations, but merely a request for an armistice. *These* are the people who are in such a hurry to treat for peace! A month and a half of delay before answering! You may imagine how we received this reply. Since then the Turks have become more supple, or, at any rate, they pretend to be so. In my eyes, however, it appears merely as a make-believe. Should it be otherwise, and should they be sincerely anxious for peace, Diebitsch will by this time have granted it them. If, however, the catastrophe of the fall of Constantinople takes place, all the world is agreed that this must be the end of the Ottoman rule in Europe. If this, indeed, comes to pass, we should hasten to apply to the great Powers, in order to arrive at an understanding of what is to be the ultimate fate of this portion of Europe; and could it but be managed that England should cease her carping policy and give up the ludicrous distrust which has marked all her negotiations with Russia, a perfect agreement would soon be arrived at for settling this great question both in conformity with the interests of the Powers, and in a manner favourable to the interests of the general peace of Europe. I would repeat to you once again, *Not an inch of territory for Russia*. I trust you begin now to

* Fought on June 11.

place some confidence in my words. Remember, they have not changed since a year and a half ago ; they have remained the same both in good and in evil fortune, exactly what they were at the beginning of the war.

The news from France is deplorable, and shows that the 'ablest Minister that France has had since the Restoration' (as the Duke of Wellington called Polignac) is urging France on, straight to revolution. The exasperation is very great in the provinces, and this seizure of the newspapers in Paris will fill up the measure to the brim. What a blunder to go and set a man like Polignac in such a place ! *We* are perfectly content with him ; he has completely failed to perform the promises he made to his patron ; and this result, you will remember, we both of us foresaw from the moment when it was shown that public opinion in France had pronounced dead against the new Minister.

There is, I think, something very humiliating in all these miscalculations. And one consequence of it all is, that what the King said the other day in his speech at table has now become the official language held by the Government. They praise the Emperor ; they rely on his word ; they ask for nothing better than a frank intimacy and friendship with him. It is certainly not for us to complain of all this ; on the contrary, I am enchanted at it ; but, my dear lord, pardon me, and, above all, burn my letter, for I am in a jesting mood. What would I not give to have a talk with you ? But come to pass it shall sooner or later. We shall come down to Howick, after all. I so long to set out on my journey ! Within the next ten days the great event must surely have been consummated.

What say you of the proceedings begun against the *Morning Journal*? I read in yesterday's *Morning Herald* a very well-written article on this subject, and as I doubt whether you see this newspaper, I am sending it you.* I asked the Duke of Cumberland if it were true that the writer of the libels was a person of his household. He answered that he had dismissed him from his service the same day the letter had appeared, because, though he, the Duke, was, and ever would be, the Duke of Wellington's personal and political adversary, yet he did not wish to pass for the protector of those who wrote defamatory libels against him. I imagine you must have read the quotations taken from the *Morning Journal*, for I believe they were reprinted in the *Courier*. But I must finish this long letter, my dear lord; it will show you how potent is emulation in correspondence. I beg you to continue your excellent habits, for to do so is the greatest possible pleasure you can give me.

By the way, they say the King is very ill-pleased at the Duke of Wellington's going and exhibiting himself at Doncaster; and as to his Grace's colleagues, they do not even affect to ignore that it is unseemly, especially with such company as he keeps.

I will shortly send you word as to the date of our departure—that is, as soon as I see a possibility of fixing it.

Adieu, and a thousand regards.

* The Duke of Wellington had directed the Attorney-General to prosecute the *Morning Journal* for libels against the King. The Duke of Cumberland's private chaplain subsequently avowed himself the writer of some of these libels. The editor and one of the proprietors of the newspaper were condemned to fine and imprisonment.

Howick,
Sept. 20th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have been more dilatory than usual in answering your very kind and agreeable letter of the 16th. Here we are at September 20, the leaves falling, the days getting shorter, the business that detains you rather becoming more urgent, than promising a speedy conclusion, and no day yet appointed, nor any certain prospect held out of your being able to appoint one. I am afraid we must take the converse of the old proverb, and say, *Ce qui est différé est perdu*—at least, for this year.

I look with anxiety for the next accounts from the theatre of war. However we may have differed at the beginning (and the present state of things only confirms the opinions which I then formed), there is a perfect agreement between us as to the crisis at which we are now arrived. I only hope we may witness more skill (perhaps I ought to use another word) in preventing its producing any mischievous consequences, than there has been foresight in providing for it. Diebitsch certainly cannot be expected to stop on anything less than the signature of a peace; and I sincerely hope that the terms which Müffling* is said to have proposed, and which I cannot doubt must have been concerted with your Government, may be at once accepted and acted upon by the Porte in such a manner as to leave no ground for distrust or dispute. If not, Constantinople must fall; and then, as you truly say, it is in vain to think that the Turkish Empire in Europe can be restored. The only question

* Prussian Envoy. See p. 269.

then will be how to dispose of it, with the least possible derangement of the relations subsisting between the other European Powers. I acknowledge that the language you have uniformly held on the whole of this subject entitles you to my fullest confidence, and what you now say assures me that this great, though difficult, work may now be accomplished, if feelings of ill-will and jealousy do not prevent it.

It is most important, in my opinion, that this should be done before another question, no less dangerous, forces itself upon us, in consequence of the convulsion which everything seems to indicate as approaching in France. Flahault and Adair (from the latter I have had lately a most excellent letter, which I wish I could show you) confirm all that you say on the state of things in that country. But do you know that here another fear begins to come upon me, that may interrupt our present agreement. It is that the settlement of Turkey may be made the foundation of another Holy Alliance to uphold the Bourbons in France, on the consequences of which I need not dilate.

Your article from the *Morning Herald* on the subject of the prosecutions is well written, and in its general principle right. But really the press has lately been going too far. In the way of free discussion, or fair severity of censure, there should be little, if any, restraint. But when topics are used, and inflammatory declamation resorted to, which, acting upon the minds of fanatics, or the feelings of a suffering populace, may lead to individual assassination, or popular violence and tumult, it may become necessary for the law to interfere. It might have been better,

perhaps, if the Duke had selected for prosecution attacks less personal to himself; but really the true liberty of the press has latterly degenerated into a license which, if it cannot be checked, will cause it to be felt as a nuisance which many in the higher orders will conceive a desire to abate.

I have just read the result of the court-martial. It is what I expected. I grieve for Codrington, for whom, from long acquaintance, I have a great regard. But with that feeling I must acknowledge that the sentence has only been what justice required. It probably will lead to another court-martial upon him; at all events, it is a blow from which I do not see how he is to recover.

We had the Salisburys here for three days last week, and I found their visit a very agreeable one. She is much more so than I expected, and I think clever. We are now only a family party, but that a numerous one. I include in that description Lord and Lady Ponsonby, whom I pleased myself with the hope of your meeting, as I think you would have liked him very much.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE.

The Russians occupy Adrianople—The Sultan sues for Peace—Lord Rosslyn as Privy Seal—Lord Ellenborough's Divorce—Delays of the Turks; General Diebitsch's Ultimatum—News from Paris—Report of an Austrian Officer; a Turkish Army Corps on the Point of Surprising the Russians—Diebitsch's Answer to the Ambassadors—The Conferences and the Greek Boundaries—Memoirs of Madame du Barry—The Delays of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries—Lord Grey's Boundary for Greece—Details of the Peace of Adrianople—Lord Grey's Opinion on it—M. Eynard's Article on Greece—The Greek Question and the English Government—Their Dissatisfaction with the Protocol of March 22—The Russian Occupation of the Principalities—Free Passage of the Dardanelles—Destruction of Giurgevo—Lord Aberdeen and the Protocol of March 22; Conversation between him and Madame de Lieven—Lady Conyngham's Illness—Russia and the War Indemnity—Lord Stuart at the Embassy in Paris; Smuggling Affair—Rumours that Lord Grey is about to join the Government—Princess Lieven's Defence of the Treaty of Peace—The Duc de Laval Montmorency—The New Sovereign of Greece—Lord Grey's Views on the Greek Question—The French Government; Prince Polignac—The Turkish Embassy to the Czar and the War Indemnity—The King's Dislike of Lord Grey—Lord Aberdeen's View of the Duke's Position—The Turks Secretly Repudiate the Treaty of Adrianople—The Persian Embassy to the Czar—The Greek Frontiers; the Sovereign to be *King* or *President*?—Mr. Denman—The Duke of Wellington and the King—The Duke of Cumberland and Captain Garth—Affairs in France; M. la Bourdonnaye—Lady Conyngham's Illness—Lord Grey's Reason for Remaining down at Howick—The Pope and Don Miguel—Palmella—The Duke of Cumberland's Illness—M. de Richemont's Pamphlet.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 21st, 1829.

The English messenger, who arrived here yesterday from Berlin, has brought us the following news, my dear lord. The capture of Adrianople, and the

subsequent march of our troops on Constantinople, had raised such a panic in that capital—and this having been further increased by the threat of the old troopers of the Janissary corps to set fire to the Seraglio and the town, and to massacre all the Franks—that the Sultan, terrified at our approach, had at last, on August 24, despatched his Minister of Finance and the Chief of Roumelia to the headquarters of our Commander-in-Chief, with orders to submit blindly to all the conditions he might impose, and thus prevent the destruction of the capital, and the annihilation of the Ottoman Empire. The foreign Ambassadors, who were consulted on this measure, had given it their cordial approval, and, further, had particularly enjoined on the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to declare immediately, and without any circumlocutions, that the Sultan put himself at the discretion of the Emperor, and relied solely on his magnanimity. Thereupon, Diebitsch, who had been made aware of the disorganized condition of Constantinople, and of the threatened massacres, and, on the other hand, being satisfied as to the Sultan's absolute submission on all points, had, August 29, given the order for the cessation of hostilities. When the messenger left, he was drawing up the treaty of peace, and this was to have been concluded within two or three days. Such is the English version of these important events. We know nothing more. I allow myself no commentary therefore, and confine myself to-day, my dear lord, to the simple business of a chronicler. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that if the treaty of peace was signed, the questions about Greece will have been included in it. All we desire, therefore, would have been accom-

plished by one and the same act. I will send you word from time to time of what news I hear. It will only have been on September 13 that my Court can have received information of all these events.

I was to have gone in to town this morning, but was prevented. This I regret, for possibly I might have found a letter from you. If one be now awaiting me there, I can only answer it to-morrow.

Good-bye, my dear lord; the above is all I have to tell you to-day. Lord Combermere is to have the colonelcy of the Guards, which Lord Harrington held, and Lord Conyngham the governorship of Windsor Castle. Here are some very small items of news to go with that of the great event.

Adieu till to-morrow.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 26th, 1829.

When I wrote to you 'Adieu till to-morrow,' in my letter of last Monday, I had hoped, my dear lord, before long to have had some news to send you. Nothing has come, and nothing can in all probability come for the next five or six days, according to the despatches received by your Government yesterday from Adrianople. The news in these comes down as far as the 3rd. The negotiations were then in progress. As, however, we have not received a word of direct intelligence, not even as to the conclusion of the armistice, we do not busy ourselves with judging of these events. What surprises me most is that matters should thus be allowed to go dragging on. As Diebitsch can but be negotiating on the drum-

head, he ought to bring affairs to a swift conclusion. Still, good generals are not always good diplomatists—but I should hold my tongue and wait.

All this, my dear lord, has had the effect of my not writing to you, and yet I wished to give this explanation in excuse of my silence. I have received, meanwhile, your letter of the 20th, and few there are that have given me so much pleasure. That you now freely admit we are both of the same opinion in these matters gives me a feeling of 'comfort' which I had not formerly experienced during our intercourse, and there is surely no need for my telling you how greatly this assurance adds to the pleasure I derive therefrom. With this basis secured we shall, I am convinced, meet on all points. Thus, for example, I am not, any more than you, a well-wisher to a second Holy Alliance. It is, perhaps, imprudent in me to avow it, but I fully agree in your forecast as to coming events in France, and the need there is of our interfering in no way therewith. The opportunity is possibly not far distant for putting to the test the views held on this subject by the various Powers of Europe; more especially if—as Lord Aberdeen was assuring me the other day—a crisis is indeed imminent. The news he had received from Paris gave him to understand that a change in the Ministry was about to take place. So here is the King on the eve of recognising that he does give in to popular clamour—a bad business on the part of a Sovereign, for the people understand none of these refinements and delicacies of feeling. If an inch be given, they take an ell. However, come what may, our better part will always be not to meddle.

My husband and I do not yet give up all hope of

our coming down to you. This may seem a rash hope, but, my dear lord, we both have such a longing to carry our plans into effect that we stick to them despite all obstacles. The most serious of these obstacles, indeed the only one, is this waiting for the news of the peace. My husband cannot stir till he receives his despatches, but I am persuaded that before Wednesday next I shall be able to send you some positive information.

Lord Aberdeen, whom I saw the other day, seemed to be out of humour. They say his chief is in a like condition. Their being in favour with the King is not a bad thing—though perhaps is it this which is causing it all? Or perchance is it because the King has disposed, without asking their consent, of the offices held by Lord Harrington? or is it our successes, and the utter ignorance they are in regarding the conditions we have insisted on in our treaty of peace? Or is it the embarrassments they suffer in domestic affairs, or possibly something else? But be the cause what it may, the fact is they certainly are all very ‘cross.’

I know not what Lord Rosslyn thinks of his position;* but Aberdeen considers it ‘very ridiculous,’ ‘quite unnatural,’ and, consequently, ‘not durable.’ Here are avowals that sound strange in the mouth of a colleague, and it is only to you that I repeat such things. I must, however, add that it was in the presence of the Duke of Cumberland that Aberdeen expressed himself after this fashion. What, however, this proves most clearly, and what I did not need this to convince me of, is, that poor Rosslyn committed a

* He had accepted the office of Privy Seal in the Duke’s Government

great piece of stupidity in letting himself be caught. It leaves great doubts on my mind as to his native sagacity.

The Duke and Duchess of Clarence have left for Dieppe, where the Duchess's brother* is staying. I met them out at dinner the other day. No one could have propounded greater platitudes than did his Royal Highness. Poor man ! I think he is getting into his second childhood. Have you heard, my dear lord, that Lord Ellenborough has instituted proceedings against Mr. Anson ? He has just discovered that the latter has been his wife's lover ! So Austria is safe.† And now adieu, my dear lord ; I have nothing more to add, except the assurances of my friendship.

The conferences‡ continue to sit, but the business to me only seems fit to amuse infants. It is very clear that what may be done there now is perfectly meaningless. Diebitsch will, I trust, have cut the Gordian knot, by insisting that the Turks should recognise the Protocol of March 22, as agreed to among the three Powers, and which the Ambassadors have ever since been requesting the Porte to fulfil. If England to-day wants a smaller Greece, Russia does not want it. And in this we stand in the right before the sight of God and man. One must be either imbecile or of bad faith to hold the contrary opinion. Even Polignac agrees with us in this matter, and has instructed his *Chargé d'Affaires* to hold this language at the conference. So it is only your Government

* Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar.

† Referring, probably, to Prince Schwartzemberg. Lady Ellenborough's marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1830. She eventually married Sheikh Miguel, chief of the Anazeh Arabs of Palmyra.

‡ On Greek affairs.

who want to nullify what has been agreed on, and they wish to profit by the circumstances in which *we* now find ourselves, for enabling us to insist on the Turks doing our will, in order to carry through this English policy! You must agree with me that it is hardly a common-sense view.

Once more, my dear lord, adieu.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Sept. 28th, 1829.

A line only, my dear lord, to tell you that the so-called submission of the Turks was not carried out in good faith; for on September 8 (the date of despatches from Adrianople received this morning) Diebitsch had declared that he could wait till the 13th only for them to submit, and meanwhile the Russian army had recommenced its forward march. This is all we know *direct*, and we have as yet no *direct* account of what had taken place previously. The news of the armistice we received by other than Russian despatches. Whether this armistice was for a fixed period, or whether it was revocable at will, I know not. The English despatches speak of an *armistice*, the Prussian only of a *suspension of hostilities*, which Diebitsch had granted the Turks. We only put faith in what is sent us by Nesselrode, or from Diebitsch. On the 13th, therefore, it is certain that everything will have been finally decided.

Do you know, my dear lord, we are really setting out to-morrow. We should have liked to have come straight down to Howick, but my husband does not wish

to be so far away when the great news arrives. We go to await its coming at Chatsworth. If the despatches demand my husband's return to town, he will leave me at Chatsworth, and then catch me up at Castle Howard, or even at Howick. I will write to you again tomorrow from London, and then from Chatsworth. At present I am much hurried.

Adieu ; a thousand regards.

Howick,
Sept. 29th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

In your letter of the 21st, which I received on the 23rd, you held out to me the expectation that you would write again immediately. This has delayed my answer.

From the account of the Sultan's having instructed his Ministers to subscribe unconditionally to the terms dictated by Russia, I had expected to hear before this that the preliminaries of a peace were actually signed. Yet the papers continue to talk of negotiations, and of Diebitsch's waiting for fresh instructions.

Your triumph is complete. I should have been better pleased if it had not been accompanied with some humiliation to us, and I still foresee considerable difficulties ; at the same time that I am not without fears of an explosion at Constantinople, notwithstanding the submission of the Sultan and the prospect of peace. There never was, in my opinion, a case in which the errors of our Government from the beginning to the end were more conspicuous. The greatest of all, however, as it was the cause of all that followed, was the [London] Treaty of July 6 and the Battle of Navarino.

Lady Grey has a letter to-day from Lady Keith,* giving a dismal account of the state of France. She says that the King talks a very bold language, '*qu'il peut se mettre à cheval, et qu'il est prêt à monter.*' She adds that if he does so, he probably will not dismount till he has passed the frontier. I wait impatiently for your next letter, and this makes it absolutely impossible for me to write more to-day. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Sept. 29th, 1829.

I wrote to you in great haste yesterday, my dear lord, and I take up my pen to-day to complete the account I sent in my last letter. The same messenger who brought my husband the news that Diebitsch had fixed the 13th as the latest date for the conclusion of peace, and that meanwhile the troops had resumed their march on Constantinople, brought him further the following items of news from Vienna, taken from the report an Austrian officer had sent in to Prince Metternich, and dated Semlin, September 13. This officer states that he has been to Adrianople, that Diebitsch there invited him to dinner, and had treated him most politely, begging him to report to the Austrian Court that before the 10th he, Diebitsch, hoped to have concluded a treaty of peace which would be found satisfactory by all the great Powers of Europe. (The officer does not give the date of this

* Madame de Flahault.

communication from Diebitsch.) Subsequently, when traversing Sofia on his return to Semlin, the Austrian officer came up with a Turkish army corps of 50,000 men, commanded by two Pashas, and, to his great astonishment, learned from these Pashas that they had just received orders to proceed by forced marches to Adrianople in order to surprise the Russians under Diebitsch. His meeting the Turkish Pashas occurred on September 8. Now pray observe that the suspension of hostilities was made public on August 29, and that the orders from Constantinople to these Pashas bore the date of September 4. The Austrian officer remarks that the occurrence is the more formidable for our army, because when he left the Russians at Adrianople they imagined themselves to be in the most perfect security. This is all strange news. But let the Turks beware indeed if their Government have acted thus treacherously! What, too, are we to think of the Ambassadors who engage their word with Diebitsch as warranty for the Sultan's pacific intentions, and for his being veritably resolved to submit to all the conditions that the Emperor may dictate?

My husband has received from Count Nesselrode copies of the letters which the Ambassadors sent in to Diebitsch on August 17, as also his reply. The Ambassadors lay before him the desperate condition of the Ottoman Empire, and ask him to spare it, and to treat for peace. Diebitsch answers in very polite terms that he will only treat with the Porte through the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, since the Emperor has all through maintained and declared that he admitted no foreign intervention in his quarrel with the Ottoman Sultan. All this that I tell you is from a sure source,

as you may see. The report of the Austrian officer also is in no way open to doubt—at any rate, it was Metternich who gave it to our Ambassador at Vienna. As you will remark, there are many things that require to be explained—of the first, on what terms had Diebitsch granted the cessation of hostilities? In the despatches we have received *direct*, there is exactly the gap which comes in between August 20 and September 8. However, the final fact that is beyond dispute is that the 13th must have been the decisive day.

The conferences on Greece continue their session ; there is again another to-day, which prevents our leaving town to-morrow. But there is really no common-sense in all this talking. Your Ministers have candidly avowed to my husband that Diebitsch must by this time have settled the Greek Question. What, therefore, is the use of anything they may decide here? Do they imagine that if we have by this time obtained from the Turks the frontier from Arta to Volo we shall be willing ultimately to agree to less? And can England even desire it in her own honour? I assure you there are details in all these negotiations which utterly confound me. I forgot to tell you that in answering the Ambassadors, Diebitsch took occasion to remind them that the Emperor had many times in the past sought an opportunity for treating of peace ; that he, Diebitsch, had himself made such proposals after the battle at Koulevtcha, and that it was only after a lapse of six weeks he had received a disdainful reply from the Porte, saying it was not as the conquered party that they would listen to proposals for peace. Further, that at this present moment he,

Diebitsch, was ready to treat, but it was imperative *Turkey* should now sue for peace, remembering she had forced us to come across the Balkans to conclude it. The Sultan has recently had five hundred of his subjects decapitated in Constantinople, and yet it is for a Government such as this that you all display such interest and affection !

London.

I have just arrived in town, and find your letter of the 29th, for which I have to thank you. My husband has not returned yet from the conference, so I have no news to send you. I trust nothing will prevent my setting out to-morrow for Chatsworth, and from thence I shall be able to indicate exactly to you the day of our arrival at Howick.

At this moment my husband is come back. We start to-morrow. A messenger from Gordon, who left Constantinople the 5th, met with the outposts of our army forty English miles from the capital. The main body of the troops was rapidly following up.

My husband found Aberdeen in a most unpleasant humour ; but whose fault is it ?

Adieu, my dear lord ; how many things I shall have to say to you, and how I shall rejoice at seeing you again ! Send me your answer to this to Chatsworth.

Howick,
Oct. 1st, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letters of September 26, 28, and 29. I should have thanked you sooner for the first had I known certainly how to direct to you. . . .

It would be a useless waste of time to speculate on

the probability of events which must already have been decided. If the Turks have practised the deceit you suppose for the purpose of favouring an attack on your army, nobody can blame you for any vengeance you may take on them. It is not rendered at all impossible by the general character of their policy ; but I could hardly believe that they could have such an army as is described by the Austrian officer. That our Minister or the Minister of France should have had any knowledge, or even a suspicion, of such a scheme, appears to me to be altogether impossible. . . .

I have been reading Madame du Barry lately, which has amused and interested me to the greatest degree.* She must have been a much cleverer woman than I had imagined, and, barring some little frailties, and making fair allowances for her position, not a bad one. Pray look at page 192 of the third volume, where you will find a conversation between her and the Duc d'Aiguillon on the subject of the first division of Poland, which would admit of a parody very applicable to the state of affairs here. I am delighted at your declaring yourself against any interference as to any change that may take place in the Government of France. Remember, this must be a fundamental condition, to which I shall hold you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

* 'Memoires de la Comtesse du Barry, Maitresse de Louis XV.,' 6 vols., 8vo. These memoirs were afterwards discovered to be apocryphal.

To Earl Grey.

Chatsworth,

Friday, Oct. 2nd, 1829.

I must now send you some further details, my dear lord, which have reached me since I wrote you my last letter. When the Turkish Plenipotentiaries presented themselves, on August 27, at the Russian headquarters, and stated that they had the Sultan's orders to subscribe to all the conditions that Diebitsch might see fit to impose, the latter of his own accord suspended military operations along his whole line, without first concluding any armistice and without stipulating anything on the part of the Turks, for, in point of fact, these had no longer an army in the field. He then announced (as I sent you word at the time, and as he then imagined) that peace would be concluded two or three days later, that is to say, by September 1.

Seeing, however, that the negotiations began to spin out, and that the Turks stated they must confer with the Sultan before consenting to the article relating to the pecuniary indemnity, Diebitsch declared to them that the latest limit he could give was the 13th, that he would then sign the peace encamped before the walls of Constantinople, or that he would take the capital. At the same time (September 5), he again set his troops in motion. According to the last despatches, the whole army was advancing, and he (Diebitsch) was to have left Adrianople on the 10th, to reach the place he had named, before the walls of Constantinople, by the date fixed for the final decision. Your Ministers are of opinion that the peace will have been signed the 12th, and I think so too. And from that moment Con-

stantinople would be safe. I would, however, observe that the Commander-in-chief must be very sure of his authority to place Constantinople thus within sight of the Russian soldiers, and yet not allow them to enter the city. The trial is severe. But they say nothing can equal the discipline of our army. Your Government even are high in praise of it.

My husband had a long interview on Tuesday with Aberdeen. Matters were serious, and at the beginning stormy, but in the end it all went off amicably. Aberdeen brewed the storm, but my husband did not let himself get heated ; he answered coolly, and showed himself ready to admit (on the part of Russia) all the consequences which your Minister threatened. This coolness disarmed his adversary, who finally asked nothing better than to be shown the means of coming to an arrangement and keeping to a good understanding. As we never had an idea of aught else, the reconciliation was promptly effected. But what astonishes me is, that your Government, who, no more than we do, wish to quarrel, so often put themselves to inconvenience by their contradictory language. It is giving the measure of their feebleness, for where you do not intend to bite you should not bark. It is always Greece and its frontiers which is the apple of discord.

[Do you know, my dear lord, that your line of frontier* will eventually play a great part, and that thus very peaceably down at Howick you will have had the honour of laying down the boundaries of a new State ? It is in confidence I say this to you, as, indeed, is all the rest of what I write you ; for if I imagined any

* See p. 293.

other than yourself *alone* read my letters, I should never dare write anything. Do not take what I tell you here for a fact; it is only a project on our part. If it succeed, it would be of great advantage to the new State, and to all the rest of Europe besides, for it would ensure the Greeks their complete independence. In justice to Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, it must be admitted that they look on such independence as to the advantage of Europe in general. I have reasons for begging you not to notice in your reply what I have just said on the matter of these projects for Greece, but I hope we may be able to discuss it all *vivâ voce* at Howick.]

The paragraph I desire no allusion to in your letter I have included in brackets.

As to the actual terms of the peace, that you may have cognizance of them before they become generally public, I herewith send you, my dear lord, the items. They are such as were handed in to the Ambassadors at Constantinople by the Prussian officer, who returned from Adrianople September 5, and who stated he had received them from Diebitsch personally.

1st. Free navigation of the Dardanelles for merchant ships of all nations flying recognised flags.

2nd. War indemnity set down at ten million ducats, or a hundred and twenty millions of francs.

3rd. The cession of Anapa, Poti, Akhalzik, and one other fortress in Asia (these places are situated in territories already included in our Asiatic possessions).

4th. The destruction of Giurgevo, and various stipulations regarding the Government of the Principalities.*

* Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under the Porte, but their prosperity was guaranteed by Russia.

5th, and lastly, the recognition of the Treaty of July 6, in accordance with the interpretation placed on it by the Protocol of March 22.

‘The French Ambassador considered these terms as the most moderate possible, seeing they were offered to a Power that had neither force nor means of any sort to make good its refusal.’ Such is the phrase by which the report from Constantinople concludes.

You will observe, my dear lord, that the indemnity we ask is in truth a very moderate sum, such as will not, in fact, cover the expenses of the war. As you may remember, Austria insisted on being paid 250 millions of francs by the Neapolitan Government, for the trouble she put herself to in 1820, when her troops occupied Naples.

Turkey in Europe, as you will see, remains intact; we do not take a single village. The places we make them give up to us in Asia are of absolute necessity to us for the tranquillity of our possessions there. Both Anapa and Poti have each in the past been the hot-bed where all the conspiracies which have broken out in our Caucasian provinces have been hatched.

We have reason to believe that the details here given of the articles of the peace are exact, although we as yet only know of them through the despatches of foreign envoys. If the Turks have accepted them, the Ottoman Empire continues to exist in Europe; if they have refused, there is no longer any Turkey in our quarter of the globe. And this is a truth admitted even by England. They say Metternich is longing for us to take Constantinople, for without this he gets nothing. However, I hope in that latter case no one will get anything.

This is a very long letter, my dear lord, and to-morrow I must send you another even more voluminous. I am going to ask my husband to allow me to send you a copy of the correspondence I have referred to, between the Ambassadors and Diebitsch. You will see what absolute confidence I have in your discretion.

We arrived here yesterday—there is company without end ; we are thirty-nine at table, but it would be too long to tell you all the names, and too uninteresting. My husband is awaiting the great news ; as soon as he gets his despatches he goes up to town again. I wait on here one or two days more, and then, according as I hear from him, I set out, or not, for Castle Howard, there to await him. Thence we travel on to Howick direct. In all probability we shall be able to reach you by the 14th or 15th, but I will send you more exact details later.

Adieu, my dear lord. Forgive all the erasures in my letter, but I have been interrupted every other moment. Once more my warmest regards.

P.S.—What I told you in my last letter about the march of a Turkish army of 50,000 men is perfectly clear now, seeing there never was any armistice signed.

[The treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey had been signed at Adrianople on September 14. The terms were those mentioned by Princess Lieven in the foregoing letter.]

Howick,

Oct. 7th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have again to excuse myself for not having thanked you sooner for your kind and most interesting

letter of the 3rd, owing to the expectation of receiving, as you said I should, another and a fuller communication by the following post. . . .

From the paragraphs in the papers this morning, I conclude that the peace has been actually signed on the conditions prescribed by you. I had received an account of these two days before your last letter, and from something that accompanied them I suspect that they were considered as anything but moderate by our Ministers, which may account for Aberdeen's ill-humour. What you say of him, however, does, I confess, surprise me. The opinion I had formed of him was that of a sensible, cold, and reserved man, like his countrymen, calculating well beforehand the consequences of what he might say, sheltering himself in silence where he did not see a clear course before him, and not at all likely to be hurried by a fit of intemperance to hold a language which he might almost immediately be obliged to soften or retract. The conduct you describe is the reverse of all this, and calculated to expose not only his own character, but that of his Government, to the charge of inconsistency or weakness.

It would be presumptuous in me, with so little information, to hazard a decided opinion. But I see enough to raise doubts as to the policy which we have pursued, which it will require much explanation to clear away. Above all, I cannot conceive the sense, at this twelfth hour, of continuing to haggle about the boundaries of Greece, when the question must have been decided at the headquarters of General Diebitsch. It is on this point that I entirely agree with you. With respect to the rest, I should say that the conditions required by

you are by no means moderate as compared with the original cause of the war, with respect to which my opinions are incorrigible; but as compared with the situation in which you are now placed, they are such as we cannot reasonably object to, and at which we have no right to be surprised.

There is, on this subject, in the *Times* of Saturday last,* an extract from some publication of M. Eynard, which—with the exception of his proposal for holding a congress for the immediate division of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and perhaps some others of slighter consequence—expresses very much my opinions. With respect to the conditions, the destruction of Giurgevo seems to me that to which there may be the most reasonable objections. It is not a point threatening you, but necessary to the defence of the Turkish frontier. So to what is the demand of its destruction to be ascribed, but to the desire of obtaining facilities for a future attack?

In speaking of Aberdeen, I forgot to advert to what you had said in a former letter of his conversation about Rosslyn. Nothing could surprise me more than your account of it. It is the least part of the blame to which it exposes him to say that it was the very height of imprudence.

You still speak with confidence of coming here, from which, however, I can derive no assurance but that you are really desirous of coming—a feeling which it is most gratifying to me to think that you entertain. . . . I have always omitted to say that we

* *Times*, October 3. A quotation is given from an article in the *Augsburg Gazette*, on the present condition of Turkey, written by M. Eynard, the distinguished philhellénist, etc.

should be delighted to see Matuscewitz, if he could be tempted to make a Northern tour. We could now give him some tolerable shooting, and perhaps Lord Tankerville might be induced to allow him to shoot a wild bull. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Chatsworth,

Oct. 7th, 1829.

My husband has received an urgent request from Lord Aberdeen to come back to town, but without telling him the cause that makes him thus desirous of his presence. Lord Aberdeen only adds that he will be required for no inconsiderable space of time. My husband is hence obliged to set off without being able to foresee how long this delay may last; . . . but Howick as ever remains our goal, unless insuperable obstacles interpose themselves.

We are still waiting for the news of the peace, which has been so long looked for. To-day, however, must see all our doubts cleared up. Herewith, my dear lord, the copy of the despatch from Diebitsch to the Ambassadors, about which I wrote to you;* my husband charges me to send it you, from him, as a *confidential* communication. He does not feel himself justified in adding a copy of the despatch from the Ambassadors; the reply, however, indicates clearly enough what was its tenor. They transmitted to

* In view of subsequent events, the despatch is not given, as being quite unimportant and uninteresting.

Diebitsch the terms on which the Porte would consent to make peace, and they exhort him to accept these. The terms are those which the Porte might have dictated to us had the Ottoman troops occupied commanding positions before Kiev and Moscow. The reply Diebitsch gives appears to me very firm, but measured in terms. The Ambassadors are unable to make it a grievance that their overtures were neglected. However, it is idle now to make comment on these subjects. All was lost; we were in a position to enter Constantinople. All the Cabinets of Europe were in expectation of the fall of the Ottoman Empire; we, however, did not wish it to fall. This, at least, consoles me for the thought that our troops have not sung a *Te Deum* in the Church of Santa Sophia.

Write to me to London, my dear lord. I, on my part, will send you any news that would seem to me likely to interest you. I finish in haste, for, as usual, I am interrupted.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

P.S.—Lady Conyngham, according to my latest correspondents, is very ill.

Lambton Castle,
Oct. 12th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your letter of the 7th, and though my carriage is at the door to take me back to Howick, and I have not even time to read the paper enclosed in it, I must acknowledge its arrival.

I must scold you for supposing that I could have

any wish to put off your visit. . . . But how can I hope that you will be able to accomplish what I am willing to believe you wish almost as much as I do? All I see in the papers leads to the conclusion that you will be engaged in long and difficult negotiations; more particularly on the subject of Greece, as I see it stated that the condition of the peace respecting that country is that the Protocol of March 22 being accepted as the basis, the details are to be settled in conferences in London. This would not require much time if I had the settlement of the question, but from what you say of the disposition of our Ministers, I cannot hope that this matter will be so speedily arranged. I will not despair, however, till I get your next letter, for which I wait most anxiously. . . .

In the meantime believe me ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 12th, 1829.

Here we are back again, my dear lord, perforce attending daily conferences in durance vile; naught but reproaches, menaces, and timidity. (I must, indeed, have enormous confidence in you to permit myself all these energetic terms.)

The news that our peace is concluded has come to revive all the regrets and stir up all the bad humour of your Government. It is, as heretofore, the Greek Question that is the torment of life to your Ministers. We have settled it, and this is exactly what drives

them to desperation. But what wrong-headedness must there be to take matters thus ! It is your Ministers who made the Protocol of March 22 ; it is your Ministers who sent the Ambassadors to Constantinople to obtain its acceptance by the Porte. Their secret hope and desire, however, was that the Porte should refuse ; and they let the Sultan sufficiently understand this to make him in fact say *No*. We, who have signed the Protocol with the intention of having its provisions carried out, take the occasion offered by the conclusion of our peace to get the Divan at the same time to agree to the Protocol. They give in their adhesion to it, and your Ministers are much offended. We think to render a service to the Allied Powers by settling once and for all this tedious Greek Question in the manner agreed upon between the three Cabinets. Not at all ; England now gives us an infinity of bad reasons to prove that we are in the wrong, and these may all be epitomized in a single sentence, namely, that the English Government signed the Protocol of March 22 with the firm intention of never having it carried out. And, my dear lord, if I only could tell you all, how astounded you would be !

However, here is peace made, and it is a peace that is glorious for Russia and proves her generous, if it be remembered how completely the Ottoman Empire lay at her mercy. We have at least shown that we do not seek to destroy this Empire, as your Government gave us credit for intending. What is curious is that your Ministers, at the present day, regret we did not carry this supposed intention of ours into effect. For some weeks past they had been preparing for this catastrophe, and the impend-

ing congress would have given the great Powers a little game to play. Our peace leaves us the sole actors on the scene, and this does not flatter their *amour propre*. Such is the secret of their bad humour. Added, however, to the above is the non-fulfilment of all their prophecies; but, then, what a pity to have made them! I have nothing to add to the items of the peace articles I already sent you. Further, we as yet have received no copy of the actual document, which must have been somewhat modified on the draft first presented to the Porte. We shall occupy the Principalities and Silistria until the indemnity has been completely paid off. This indemnity may be paid in material supplies and goods, such as timber for masts, vessels, copper, etc. The navigation of the Black Sea is to be open to flags of all recognised nations who are at peace with *Turkey*. All foreign vessels thus enjoy equal privileges with those of Russia. The Emperor made no demand to have the passage of the Dardanelles free to his war vessels. This surprises me. The Principalities are placed under a more independent form of Government, and Servia now receives the districts which the Porte had engaged to give her back by the Treaty of Ackerman.

The new French Ambassador* arrives to-day, with instructions to conclude (at the conference) all questions of detail regarding Greece, such as the choice of a Sovereign, the form of Government, and the amount of the tribute. We do not interfere in the selection of the monarch; you may pick him out from where you choose, even from Austria, if you see fit—and I am rather tempted to think that it is in this school that

* The Duc de Laval Montmorency.

your choice will fall. How much good could now be accomplished by an English Minister, were he but enlightened and wise! But we have, I fear, the reverse of all this. Everything here is done in hatred of the treaty and in hatred of Greece. I know well that *you*, too, hate the treaty, but you would have carried it out nobly and in good faith. How I wish I were at Howick! very far am I from there still. [It is always *your* boundaries which are in discussion, with the question of the independence also; and it is, as heretofore, in secret that I tell you this, but I cannot leave you in ignorance of the fate of your infant. My husband would ask nothing better than, by accepting this as a mean term, to satisfy the susceptibilities of your Ministers; and, at the same time, I think it would be of benefit to Greece. However, he is only acting in this on his own responsibility, for it remains to be seen what the Emperor would say to it, especially now that our treaty has laid down the line in a different manner. The more I tell you, my dear lord, the more I conjure you to regard my confidence as private and secret.]

All this week will be occupied with hard work. My husband hopes to finish, *sub spe rati* (you see I can quote Latin), by the end of the week, and he wants still to get down to Howick, for we are obstinate people. However, in a few days we must decide definitely, for the season is changing and for the worse.

The King is in excellent health, but the Marchioness has been very ill, and is so still, of a bilious fever, which attacked her head. She has been in bed for the last ten days. The King has been most anxious, and she thought herself dying. I think,

however, the danger is now passed. The King continues to talk of going to Brighton at the end of the month.

I have this minute received your letter of the 7th, but have time now merely to thank you for it.

I think we agree perfectly on the subject of Greece. We exacted the destruction of Giurgevo—as, too, of certain other fortresses on the left bank of the Danube—because we wish to place the Principalities in security from vexatious interference on the part of the Turks. I do not think Russia can be accused of any evil intention in this matter. If she wished the overthrow of the Ottoman Power, what is there to prevent her accomplishing it at this present moment? If she wishes at some future time to recommence hostilities against the Turks, Giurgevo, the more or the less, is nothing to the purpose. This last campaign proves how easy the next war would be, and the peace we have just signed would render it even easier again. But there will be no other war for a long time to come. The Turks will avoid all pretext for it, for they have learnt to measure their own feebleness. Do you know, however, they now credit Metternich with a wish to declare war against them? This would be a jest indeed!

I have always forgotten to tell you, my dear lord, that rumour is rife in Ireland of your being the future Viceroy. What think you of it? It would be a lucky stroke of business for the Duke of Wellington, could he but bring it about. But can he do this?

Adieu, my dear lord; write to me more often. I have put brackets in this, as in my last letter, to the paragraph that is not to be answered. I trust this

last letter will have reached you. I wrote it, I think, on the eve of leaving Chatsworth.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 16th, 1829.

I have received, my dear lord, the little note you wrote me from Lambton Castle, and I await a longer letter from Howick.

Here matters go on at the same gait as when I wrote last, with this variation, that what I said of your Government in the matter of Greek affairs is now frankly admitted to be a true statement of the case by the Ministers themselves. Lord Aberdeen has plainly owned to my husband (and he repeated it to me, too, yesterday) that in signing the Protocol of the 22nd March he never dreamed it was ever to have been carried into effect. I leave to you the task of characterizing such an avowal—in truth it is pitiable. I see by the *Times* of this morning that the Ministers have succeeded in indoctrinating this journal, too, on the matter. It will be a bad cause to defend. For, in the first place, it starts from a false basis, seeing that in Nesselrode's letter to the Grand Vizier at the beginning of the war (the which letter was at the time made public in all the newspapers), he cites, as among the number of objects we demand of the Porte, this very settlement of the Greek Question. No one then said a word against it. However, further discussion would be useless on this point. The matter can only be regarded by any sensible person from one point of

view, and that you yourself have already indicated—the Greek Question should have been settled at the headquarters of our army. It was never loving words that gained aught from the Turk. The business reduces itself to this : we and the French wished to fulfil our engagements (the Protocol of the 22nd of March), and the English wished to avoid their fulfilment. What is silly, however, is for them to make the avowal. Lord Aberdeen asked yesterday to see me. Our interview was a long one and very droll, for I can find no other word to use. His theme was :

‘We have been the dupes of Russia ; we have let ourselves be insulted, played with, and cast aside !’

I repeated with astonishment the expressions he used, and added :

‘It is false, my lord, and you ought to know yourself that it is so. For had it been true, you would have taken vengeance. A great Power does not tamely suffer insult.’

‘We have put up with it all for the sake of peace,’ he replied.

‘Put up with it all ! you cannot put up with dishonour !’

‘Yes—even with dishonour !’

‘Come, come, my dear lord,’ I said, ‘I am more English than you are, for I am ashamed of what you are saying to me !’

This speech of mine rather astonished him.

I inquired what it was he called our insults, and I proved that his complaints in this matter left him in a very false position. For if insult there had been, it was rather for us to complain, who had received from his Government nothing but injurious suspicion and ill

treatment. I begged him to point out a single instance in which we had been wanting in due regard to England, or where we had gone against her interests. He had not a word to say in answer, and for the excellent reason that he has nothing—*absolutely* nothing to prove against us. And this is a dialogue between a Minister of Foreign Affairs and a woman! At the end of it all he protested he had nothing more at heart than to be well with Russia; that he felt convinced the union of two such great Powers was the truest guarantee for the preservation of peace, and that this was the sole and only object of their policy. I reminded him that this was what I had already said twenty times before; that my Court had never done aught on any other principles or with any other intention; that Russia had never ceased to act in this spirit; and that it was a very good thing he had at last come to see the truth of the matter. Further, in order that the principle should henceforth be properly carried into effect, it was his duty to spare us all unjust suspicions, acting with frankness and loyalty as was becoming between two great States. Reciprocal protestations came to close the scene. So here, you see, is a perfectly satisfactory conclusion.

My dear lord, it is only you in the whole world to whom I could thus write and confide the account of such an interview, but I trust to your honour. It is clear that the Duke of Wellington's *amour propre* has been wounded, because events have falsified all his predictions; this, and this alone, is the reason for all these outpourings. It must be allowed that his political forecasts have not been distinguished by any great sagacity. He has been a dupe; this cannot be contested; but he

is the dupe of his own illusions, which were brought forth or fostered by the vanity of Metternich. Believe me, here lay the first cause of all the disappointment, but how greatly has not the latter been made to suffer for it ! Austria was no more taken into consideration during these last great events than Würtemberg, and this is the most terrible punishment which the pride of Prince Metternich could have sustained.

The Sultan is sending an Embassy to Petersburg, to implore the Emperor to grant a modification in the conditions of the treaty of peace ; namely, as to the indemnity. I am sure the Emperor will grant this, provided only no other Power meddles in the matter. The indemnity, however, even such as is stipulated at present, does not by a long way cover the expenses of the war. We demand 120 millions of francs, and the war has cost us 200 millions at least. France is very well content at our peace. I have seen the Duc de Laval ; he will amuse you, I think. He is a clever man, who, nevertheless, generally passes for a fool. The King is to receive him to-morrow, I believe.

Lady Conyngham is still ill of a bilious fever. Lord Aberdeen tells me the King was much ' out of spirits ' at the last Council.

The conferences go on, but they hope to bring them to a conclusion in another eight days ; I am sure I hope so, too. Matuscewitz is to carry news of the result back to Petersburg. How good of you to think of him ! He is so sorry to be unable to avail himself of your tempting offer.

Adieu, my dear lord ; I wish I could persuade myself that my next letter would inform you of my coming. It is still possible, but by no means sure.

A thousand kindest regards. They still say on all sides that the Government have made you proposals. If it be the case, I shall learn the fact from you.

Adieu.

Howick,
Oct. 17th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I acknowledged, just as I was leaving Lambton, the receipt of your letter of the 9th, enclosing that which had been written by Diebitsch to the Ambassadors. The treaty of peace having been since received, all observations on that letter would be out of date. Indeed, the only one of any consequence that occurred to me upon it was, that General Diebitsch, having expressed his readiness '*to enter into negotiations with the Turkish Plenipotentiaries*,' they could not have been prepared to expect a peremptory demand of unconditional submission to terms dictated by him, and consequently that their request to be allowed time to receive further instructions from the Porte did not seem unreasonable.

I have since received your letter of the 12th, which I have more than once taken up my pen to answer, but have been as often obliged to desist by some interruption, as well as by the difficulty that I find in saying all that I wish to say within the limits of a letter. I am not, indeed, surprised to hear that our Ministers are dissatisfied with the treaty. But I am, indeed, very much surprised to find, as I understand from your letter, that their chief objection has been raised on the ground of what has been done respecting the future limits of Greece. On this

point I should think you completely in the right, even if you had not the sanction of the Protocol of March 22. I thought, as you know, the Treaty of July 6, 1827, equally impolitic and unjust. But an injustice is not cured by the commission of a folly ; and if Greece was to be made free and independent, there was not common-sense in stopping short of the means which were necessary to make it so, securely and permanently. To the other parts of the treaty there are much more serious objections, which I believe will be very generally felt in this country, but into the examination of which I find it, as I have already said, impossible to enter in a letter. I may refer you, however, for the view I take of them, to an article in the *Times* of Thursday last,* which I have just read. Barring some expressions not so friendly as I should wish to the general character of your Government, what is said on the condition to which Turkey is reduced by this treaty, and its probable consequences, appears to me to be just and true. Even to terms such as they are there represented, I should, however, in the present state of things, be inclined to yield my acquiescence, if they appeared to me likely to put an end to all future disputes. But I fear a very different effect from them. The long period which must elapse between this and the execution of so many complicated arrangements, all of them (forgive me for saying so) appearing to be studiously, and even ostentatiously, made without the intervention of any of the Powers most interested in the preservation of general tranquillity, must, independently of the arrangements themselves, give occasion to angry and even hostile dis-

* October 15, 1829.

cussions on so many points, that we cannot be sure of peace for a year to come. No, it is impossible that in this state of things you can leave London, and this adds to my discontent at the state to which these matters have now been brought.

I some time ago suggested an expedient, which, without diminishing the real security of the Grecian territory, might serve as a middle term to remove the difficulties which had arisen respecting the limits. Allow me now to suggest another. Give up the indemnity for the expenses of the war (not the indemnity for mercantile losses), on condition that the Turks, on their part, relinquish their claim to a tribute from Greece; and on this being agreed to, evacuate at once the Turkish provinces. This would be real generosity and moderation. It would be more. It would give you in influence, character, and real power, more than you could derive either from the receipt of £5,000,000, or the occupation for ten years of the Turkish provinces. In adopting such a measure, I am persuaded you would mortify and disappoint the bitterest enemies of your Government to the greatest degree. Excuse me, if I have written anything that may appear contrary to your views or interests. I have promised you complete frankness in the expression of my opinions. They may be contrary to yours; they may, deficient as I am in information, perhaps be very foolish; but they cannot, I trust, in the manner in which I have expressed them, be in any degree offensive to you. On the contrary, at the same time that you must be convinced of their sincerity, I trust that you can see in them nothing but a new proof of my confidence and

affection. Pray tell me what you know of this smuggling transaction.* From what I have read of it in the papers, which is all I know, it does not appear to me to tell well for Lord Stuart.

I am going on Monday for two days to Chillingham . . . and shall be at home again on Wednesday. I wish I could flatter myself that a letter from you in the meantime might tell me that I should see you on my return.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

Chillingham Castle,
Oct. 20th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 16th the day before I left Howick. Your account of your conversation with Lord Aberdeen would have amused me very much if I had not felt mortified that an English Minister should have exposed himself to a rebuke at once so severe and so just. He must be, to be sure, the most extraordinary man that ever lived, and so different from what I had conceived of him that I cannot recover my astonishment. I am afraid it is not a very uncommon thing in politics to find a man professing an intention with a secret determination never to execute it. But it is new in the history of diplomacy, and still more in that of Scotchmen, to meet

* See *Times* of October 3. From the accounts given in the French papers, several packages addressed to Lord Stuart at the Embassy at Paris, which were stated to consist of '*saddlery, carpets, and malt liquors*' only, were, when accidentally opened at the French Customs, found to contain '*muslin and silk manufactures*.'

with such an avowal as that you describe Aberdeen to have made, and for what purpose but to expose himself? You could only understand the views of our Government as they were described in the Protocol. You could not read in their hearts the secret intention of acting contrary to them. If you had expressed a suspicion of such an intention (for which, perhaps, there was some ground), what would they have said? As to the complaint of your having stipulated for the fulfilment of the terms agreed upon by the Allies with respect to Greece, I cannot conceive anything more unfounded. It surely was natural that you should do so; nay, more, it might perhaps have been a much more just cause of reproach if you had not. And, after all, how is it possible for any man in his senses to feel injured by your stipulating that the terms which you had agreed upon with him to propose should be taken as the basis of an arrangement, the details of which were left to be settled with his concurrence? If all this astonishes me, I confess that the termination of the conversation does not appear to me less surprising. If I had thought myself called upon to state in such strong terms that my country had been duped, insulted, and disgraced by the conduct of another Government, I should not have concluded by asking a continuance of friendship without obtaining satisfaction and redress. You see I imitate your example in speaking of these things without reserve. I cannot, however, suppose that the Ministers must not have yet something better to say for themselves than Aberdeen, and for this I must wait before I can form a final opinion.

One thing in your letter gave me true pleasure—the expression of your belief that the Emperor will

consent to diminish the indemnity. The right to exact any indemnity must depend on the original justice of the war. On that point, you know, our opinions do not agree. But whatever might be the strict justice of the case, the fact that the sum exacted is one that the Turks cannot be expected to pay under ten years, if even then; the consequent occupation of the provinces and fortresses, and the terms of that occupation, are certainly such as might give reasonable cause of alarm to other Powers, and particularly to Austria. I am therefore sincerely anxious that this very objectionable part of the Treaty of Peace should be altered, and the more I think of it, the more I feel that the proposition I offered to you in my last letter would be for the interest, as it certainly would be for the honour, of Russia herself.

You are quite right. If any propositions were made to me, you would not be left to hear of them from any third person. Nothing of the kind, nor anything showing the slightest tendency to it, has taken place. But this is the usual season of reports, particularly when the situation of the Government appears to become more difficult, and the meeting of Parliament approaches. I heard the other day of another report, which amused me very much—that a new party was forming with a view to a systematic and active opposition in the approaching Session—Huskisson, Grant, Lord Melbourne, Lord Holland, and Lord Carlisle as the nominal head, and that Princess Lieven had undertaken to engage Lord Grey in favour of it. Is this the object of your visit to Castle Howard before you come to Howick?

But to speak seriously, this is only worth citing,

though I have no doubt there are many who believe it, to show the absurdity of such reports. I came here yesterday, and return to Howick on Thursday. You still speak of the possibility of accomplishing your long-promised visit, but I have little remaining hope. Lady Tankerville tells me that Mrs. A.'s favour with the great Captain appears to be declining.* If this is true, who is to have the survivance? The space left void by the Marchioness would be still more difficult to fill.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Oct. 22nd, 1829.

I was prevented yesterday, my dear lord, from answering your letter of the 17th; to-day I have some leisure time, and profit thereby. I see plainly that our peace displeases you, though you tell it me most politely and amiably.

But, my dear lord, it was not to please England, or anyone else, that we signed it. In deference to Europe, and to what I may call its prejudices, we have maintained the Ottoman Empire, for, in point of fact, it lay with us to destroy it, had we so chosen. For the sake of our own self-respect we abstained from all territorial conquest. The advantages Russia has secured

* Greville, iii., 116 (First Series). *Aug. 5th, 1834.*—' . . . On coming to town yesterday, I heard of another death: Mrs. Arbuthnot, after a short illness. The Duke of Wellington, with whom she had lived in the most intimate relations for many years, evinced a good deal of feeling. . . She was not a clever woman; but she was neither dull nor deficient, and very prudent and silent.'

to herself are those which, from the very commencement, we had stated to be the objects of the war. Our victories assuredly gave us the right to these, and no other Power can reproach us for securing them. Further, no one of the Powers has ventured to make any demur on this subject. Turkey is stricken to death, that is true, but it is the war, and not the peace, which has given her the mortal stroke. Turkish nationality and Moslem fanaticism exist no more, and this is a truth which our war has revealed to the world in general, and to the Turks into the bargain. That Power may vegetate, but cannot show life. (And this is why I, for my own private part, regret that their career as a nation was not cut short now, once and for all. This, however, is high treason, for my duty is to maintain that the Emperor has done right in sparing them.)

As to the conditions of our peace, those which may seem inconvenient or menacing to Europe (I refer to the prolonged occupation of the Principalities) are exactly those most displeasing to the Emperor. They were put in by Diebitsch ; his instructions laid down no such clauses, and the Emperor regrets them all the more because he has the prosperity of these provinces much at heart, and that the result of a military occupation would necessarily be to lay great burdens on them. The Emperor's intention, also, is to change this clause at the ratification of the peace. But I tell you this, my dear lord, quite as between our two selves. Furthermore, your Government has received information that the Emperor proposes—on the occasion of the solemn Embassy which the Sultan is sending him to implore an abatement of the indemnity—to grant this reduction. You see, therefore, that my Court is showing

all possible moderation. Your idea of making the abandonment of our pecuniary right turn to the advantage of the Greeks is an excellent one, and ought to be followed up. Heaven bless you for the pity you have shown for that unhappy nation ; I assure you they only meet with persecution on the part of your Government. The conferences were going on, but are now stopped. I dare not tell you the reason ; it is Metternichism pure and simple ; but you shall know of it all as soon as I am allowed to open my lips. How can they let Austria still lead them by the nose, after the experience of all the embroglios her policy has brought on them ? I questioned Lord Aberdeen on the subject of Lord Stuart ; he appeared to think matters would not go well with that Ambassador. Further, he told me the affair was to be looked into, for the English Government had insisted that the whole subject should be thoroughly cleared up. It appears to me, between ourselves, that Aberdeen would not be sorry if Stuart were to have somewhat of a discomfiture.

My husband has not yet given up all hope of going to Howick ; and I am persuaded that if this miserable Greek affair could but be brought to a close before November 1, we should even then start to come down to you. Your Ministers are, I think, tolerably dissatisfied with France. The Duc de Laval amuses us all greatly ; he amuses Aberdeen, too, but suits him not at all. The Duke of Wellington has not seen him yet. Lady Conyngham is still unwell, and there is no question now of Brighton.

Good-bye, my dear lord ; do not be angry with Russia, for you know well that I cannot be otherwise

than a Russian. Let your innate feeling of equity judge in the matter, and you will come to see that we have only done our duty, and acted up to our promises. How I wish I could see you! Talking would do so much more than writing, and I am convinced we should come to an agreement on this matter. You do not answer the questions I put about your plans. Well, they continue here to state that the Government has made proposals to you; I imagine, however, that you will look well before accepting, and that, if you did accept, it would not be to become their slave, but their master.

Adieu, and a thousand kind and sincere messages. The Duke of Wellington, Peel, Murray, Vesey Fitzgerald, Esterhazy, Neumann, and Count Nugent, an Austrian Marshal, are all at Lord Hertford's.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Oct. 26th, 1829.

Have I answered your letter of the 20th, my dear lord? This is an absurd question, but I have been such a nomad these last few days that I have not the slightest recollection of what I have done. Besides, I would rather sin by showing too much than too little gratitude, and so I thank you to-day for that very interesting letter.

We have apparently reached the end of these interminable conferences. A messenger has been despatched to Paris; he is expected back again to-morrow at latest, and will bring the decisive news. We shall then know whether the Greeks are to be left out in the cold, or whether during the following

twenty-four hours their fate is to be settled. Your Government desires an *Austrian* General to be named Sovereign of Greece ; France objects to the white uniform, and with reason, according to my view. We shall see how the dispute will be settled. As I have told you, we leave the choice entirely to our allies. But they must agree among themselves. I know not how England will be able to justify herself before the public for having thus abandoned Greece to her fate, because it was found impossible to give her a master from the school of Prince Metternich. This, however, is what they threaten at present to do. For Heaven's sake, my dear lord, ignore all I am now telling you. It is on all this, however, that our journey to the North depends.

I have seen Aberbeen again. He was in pretty bad humour. The Duke of Wellington was to have come back yesterday from the conclave at Lord Hertford's. The King is in excellent health. The Marchioness is recovering.

The French Ambassador diverts us all greatly ; he is a very droll personage. With an elegance of manner and speech that would remind one of the Court of Louis XIV., he makes a display of much simplicity, not to say silliness, and yet withal there is a great deal of wit in him. All I know of him as a diplomatist is that he did not truckle to Prince Metternich.

Adieu, my dear lord. I have been interrupted, and it is now post-time, so I must leave off in haste. You may rely on another letter before very long.

A thousand friendly regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Oct. 28th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 21st on my return to this place on Saturday last, having stopped two days at my brother's on my way from Chillingham. I should not have left it so long without an answer, had I had anything new to say on it. You are already in possession of such views as very imperfect information has enabled me to form respecting the treaty. On the Greek Question, however we might have differed as to the policy which originally brought it into discussion—we are, as to its present state, entirely agreed. Whatever objections I may feel as to other parts of the treaty, be assured that they do not rise from any enmity to Russia, but from a fear of the effect they may have on the security and peace of other nations. I should, from a general view of the interest of both countries, be anxious to promote amity and concord between your Government and mine; but I have also a personal interest to do so when you remind me that you are a Russian, and cannot separate yourself from the interests of your country. I have the same feelings and the same duties as an Englishman, and if ever we have the misfortune to differ on questions of general policy, why should that difference be attended with any diminution of our personal confidence and friendship? Do not imagine from this that I foresee the probability of our differing; on the contrary, your letter rather inspires me with the hope that matters will be ultimately so arranged as to satisfy us both. What you say of the diminution of the indemnity and the evacuation of the Principalities encourages this hope; and if the last

proposition which I made, and which you seem to approve, could be carried into effect, I should be quite content, presuming always that the separate articles which are said to have formed part of the Treaty, and which I have not yet seen, do not materially alter its general tendency and effect.

I have, since I wrote to you, received a letter from Flahault. He says the peace gives great dissatisfaction in France, and that the only thing that reconciles them to it is that it is still more humiliating to England. I should be sorry to regard it in that light, though I must confess that it is not, with all its accessories, so satisfactory to us as I could have wished. He repeats that it is impossible for Polignac's Administration to go on, and that it is in the confidence and certainty of its overthrow that people are disposed to wait patiently for the Chambers. But this respite given to the Government, with the means in their possession, if they have the skill to use them properly, may produce a very different state of things in a few months. I see they are already taking measures to conciliate the army; I do not believe the Chambers will be found inaccessible either to the menaces or the seductions of power.

Why did you not tell me of the homage done to you in the charades at Chatsworth, of which I have just heard a long account? I hope Morpeth presented the crown of laurel with becoming grace . . . *

* The conclusion of this letter, written on the cover, is missing.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Nov. 2nd, 1829.

I am once more, my dear lord, on the road to the North, and here I await patiently the end of the week, which they tell me is to bring with it the close of the conferences, and then I shall set out for Howick. Will you not, perhaps, be somewhat annoyed at such stubbornness on our part?

I received this morning your letter of the 28th. It merely recapitulates all you said to me long ago about our policy, and I, for my part, can but repeat to you that the Emperor's conduct will be all that you can reasonably expect of one placed in his position. I am almost sure he will forego the occupation of the Principalities, and that the Turkish Embassy will afford him an opportunity of showing generosity towards the Ottoman Porte.

My husband has returned to town again to-day to dine at the Duke of Wellington's; I sent an excuse for not coming. In old times I would willingly have gone fifty miles to please him; at the present day such an attention on my part is beyond my capacity. I should much like to know why it is I have the reputation of paying court to power. If my affections are engaged—then, well and good—but it is for the sake of my affection purely and simply. Power of itself is certainly not what I court, and I think that to-day I am giving a proof of this.

We had the Duc de Laval here yesterday. He amused everyone. He is a Frenchman of the old school—well bred, full of anecdote, good-humoured, and always talking. Montrond met him here, and the

encounter was a perfect comedy to watch. He was jealous of the Duc de Laval's success, and did all in his power to distract our attention from his rival, ending by becoming as cross as a bear. We were all much amused at it. Laval left him master of the field, for he went up to town to dine at the Duke of Wellington's.

There is no fresh news, my dear lord, from these eternal conferences. Perhaps Aberdeen will be coming down here to carry them on. My husband still hopes we may start before the 10th. We are hopeful people ; so, at any rate as yet, do not shut your door to us.

I met Sir Robert Adair in town, who was very much inclined to come down to pay you a visit, too. On the subject of visits, by the way, the one Lord Rosslyn is to pay you may well carry with it some proposals. The world still talks about you, for it cannot conceive how the Government is to keep in if they do not gain you over.

Adieu, my dear lord ; write to me more often ; you have forgotten me for more than a week.

A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Nov. 4th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your letter of the 2nd from Panshanger. I have also to acknowledge that of October 26. If my correspondence has slackened, it has been owing to your example. Your letters have been at greatly long intervals ; and that of the 26th, which was very short, and terminated abruptly by an interruption, told me that I should hear from you

again '*très incessamment.*' It was in the expectation of your fulfilling that promise that I delayed writing. In truth, I had nothing to say. Public news I could have none to send you from hence, nor did I receive any which could afford matter for any new observation.

It passes my powers of imagination to conceive what can be the subjects of these eternal conferences, and I can only express my earnest hope that they will end in an arrangement that may be satisfactory to all parties, for if it is not of that description it cannot be the foundation of a permanent peace.

I am very curious about this Duc de Laval, who appears to occupy you so much ; so much that, if I had any right to be jealous, I should be so to a great degree. I heard a good deal of him from Lord Ponsonby, who is a great friend of his. He spoke of him much as you do, but praised him most for his kind-hearted and amiable qualities. If you come, could you not persuade him to be of the party ? upon condition, however, that you do not mark your preference of him too strongly. He would be a great security against the ennui which I always fear you may experience here. But no, you will not come ; and if I still speak of it as of a thing that is possible, it is only because I am unwilling to give up the hope of what would be to me so great a pleasure. . . .

Perhaps you will accuse me of affectation if I say that I wish people would leave off talking or thinking about me. Living as I do in this solitude, almost without connection with the living world, it seems odd that such reports as you mention should gain any credit. They do not as yet seem to have reached the newspapers, and, as I have already told you, they are,

as far as I know, totally and entirely without foundation. I do not believe there is the difficulty you think in the Duke of Wellington's Administration. It may go on perfectly well, perhaps better, considering the feelings of the King, without me. There is no united party against it to which the public is disposed to give its confidence. Still less is there any leader who could form one with any popular feeling in his favour. There may be speakers able to expose the errors of particular measures, but the effect of this will not go beyond the particular debate; and though the Duke's enemies may rejoice in seeing him sustain partial defeats of this nature, and may exaggerate their importance at the time, there, be assured, their triumph will end, unless, indeed, the King had vigour and resolution enough to take the matter into his own hands and to form a new Administration. But for this the materials are wanting.

Rosslyn always intended to come into Scotland, and to stop here on his way. His coming has only been delayed by his daughter's marriage. You will see, therefore, that this is only a very simple and natural occurrence, leading necessarily or even probably to no political consequence whatever, though it undoubtedly is true that, if a proposition was to be made, Rosslyn would be very likely to be the channel.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,

Nov. 6th, 1829.

It is at this place, my dear lord, that I have received your letter of the 4th. I am staying on here

because there is nothing that calls me back to London ; also, that I am very well in health, have my children with me, and that it appears to me I do Lady Cowper a pleasure by remaining her guest. It must all, however, come to an end in a few days' time, for she herself is going to Brighton. We look forward now to being able to set out on Monday, the 16th, on our northern tour. Mark the audacity of the forecast !

Lord Aberdeen came down on a visit. We had talks together as usual. And from what he told me, it would seem more than likely that they are meditating making you some proposals. For instance, when I mentioned the King as the well-known obstacle to your taking office ; he answered me that the Duke of Wellington had before now found means of over-riding the King's resistance, even in matters that appertained to his conscience and religious scruples, and therefore it would be absurd to say he could not surmount a feeling that had its existence merely in caprice. The reply was unanswerable. I said to him : ' I should, indeed, congratulate the Government if they were to obtain your accession to the Cabinet ' ; and he observed that ' he saw no obstacle to it, for your principles differed in nowise from those of the present Ministers.' I then remarked to him : ' But do you think that Lord Grey, holding the great moral position he does in the country, could come into the Cabinet merely as a simple individual ? He is a power, not a man ; and it does not seem to me consonant with his dignity that he should associate himself to you except at the head of his party.' Lord Aberdeen would have disputed with me about ' the party,' but I did not think

it became me to maintain the discussion longer. He asked me if I had heard the rumours of the town, according to which he (Lord Aberdeen) was to cede you his post* and take that of Lord Bathurst,† who was to retire from office. The arrangement, apparently, was not much to his taste.

Now, my dear lord, however untrue all these speculations may be, it appears to me there must be some basis of truth for the reports, and that Lord Rosslyn will be the bearer to you of proposals. To me, you know, it is a matter of no small excitement, for you are the only individual in England in whom I take a purely personal interest. Your coming into office would be an immense pleasure to me; but the honour it would bring you touches me even more closely than the interest I should have in seeing you there. I cannot, however, give up my idea that the only alternative for you is either to be head of the Government or head of the Opposition. You will not believe how much you are the object of everybody's hopes. People see in you the only statesman capable of uniting all parties. I see in you the only man capable of governing England. Forgive my exclusiveness, and keep the secret of this, as of all else, to yourself alone.

By the way, and on the subject of secrets, I cannot resist the longing to confide one to you, for I see clearly that if I do not tell you all that is passing in my mind and occupying my thoughts, I know not what to write, and our correspondence begins to languish from the dulness of my letters. Here it is therefore. The Turkish Government, on the morrow of the ratifi-

* Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

† President of the Council.

cation of the Treaty of Adrianople, sent in to the Ambassadors of France and England a Note that purported to have been written before the signature of the Treaty. In this Note Turkey protests against Article X. of this same Treaty relating to Greece, and declares that she is not only unwilling to recognise the Protocol of March 22, but also that she will not accept the Treaty of July 6, 1827 (which same she had solemnly recognised in a Note, dated September 9, and handed in to the Ambassadors but a few days before the signature of the Treaty of Adrianople). This protest against one of the clauses of our Treaty was accompanied by a verbal notification, in the which it was stated that in spite of the Treaty of Peace having been ratified, the Ottoman Government none the less still deemed it their duty to communicate the aforesaid Note to the Ambassadors, at the same time declaring their resolve to recognise neither the Treaty nor the Protocol. Now it is beyond doubt that this incredible proceeding must have been inspired, or at least favoured, by the Ambassadors; for it would be absurd to believe it was purely the invention of the Turkish Government, or that they would dare (were they not sure of support) thus to invalidate a Treaty they had just signed, with the Russian army still in occupation of the whole of Turkey, and master of the approaches to the capital. In any case the Ambassadors have, according to my view, strangely compromised their respective Governments in even accepting the Note. It is a bad business, and is not what is likely to encourage the Emperor to carry out the generous treatment he has shown himself disposed to award the Turks. He is as yet ignorant of these circumstances. My husband had

news of all this from your Ministers ; but I conjure you, my dear lord, not to let it be guessed you know anything of the matter. Perhaps, if they only draw back in time, nothing will come of it.

You will have seen in the newspapers that the Emperor has remitted the balance of the indemnity due from the Persian Government. He has loaded Prince Khosrou Mirza with honours and presents. It is a grand way of revenging the horrible catastrophe at Teheran.* But it was satisfactorily proved that the Persian Government had had no cognizance of the matter, and the Shah thus sending his grandson as Ambassador has pleased the Emperor.

Matuscewitz is staying with the Duke of Wellington, who pays much court to Little Russia. The Duc de Laval passed a day here—he amused everybody ; but what amused us even more was the jealousy he managed to inspire in the breast of Montrond, who was a guest here with him. He regards the Duc de Laval as a usurper who has arisen to dethrone him. He is foolish to think this, for M. de Laval is not as clever as he is ; but then he has the fault in Montrond's eyes of amusing everybody.

By the way, the Duke of Wellington cannot abide Laval, and has already made him comprehend the fact.

The conferences still go on. The Duke of Wellington was at the last a few days back. There will be another Tuesday or Wednesday next probably.

Matuscewitz leaves at the end of the week. The King's plan of going to Brighton is the most changeable possible ; the journey has been decided upon and

* On February 11, 1829, the Teheran mob rose and massacred the Russian envoy, M. Grebafodoff, and his suite, in their palace.

countermanded twenty times over already. No one can tell yet whether it will be carried into effect.

What a lengthy letter, my dear lord! I congratulate you on having got to the end of it, and I will only offer you in epitome, now, my sincerest good wishes.

Howick,
Nov. 12th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your most interesting and agreeable letter of the 8th yesterday. It ought to have reached me the day before, and was marked at the post-office 'Too late.' Many things have surprised me in the affairs of Turkey and Greece. But nothing so much as what I now hear of the protest delivered by the Government of the Sultan to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, against the clause in the treaty with respect to Greece. On their part it seems an act of madness; and I cannot conceive on what grounds it could possibly be encouraged either by France or England, or even by Metternich himself. From all I had previously heard, I was led to conclude that even the present Government of France approved of the limits proposed by the Protocol of March 22, and however much that arrangement might be disliked by our Ministers (whose conduct with regard to this matter has always appeared to me utterly incomprehensible), I cannot think they would hazard, by such means and for such an object, the renewal of a war which could have no result but that of the immediate and final destruction of the Turkish Empire. It is probably one of those things which one sees some-

times done under desperate circumstances, without consideration or foresight, and will produce no effect beyond that of showing how reluctantly the Porte, under the pressure of a paramount necessity, has signed a treaty, from the obligations of which it would eagerly seize any chance of escaping.

By the way, I see in the papers that the frontier which I once proposed to you for the new State of Greece has become a subject of discussion. With regard to the future government of that country, it seems to me of very little importance whether it is to be under a King or a President ; though I may think there is something bordering on the ridiculous in the former title, and should myself, for various reasons, prefer the latter. But, whatever the form, it is clear that, for the present at least, the head of the Government must possess almost absolute power, the elements for establishing a free constitution not being now in existence.

As to myself, I can only repeat the wish I have often expressed to you, to remain quiet. Take twenty or twenty-five years off my head, and the case might be different. I do not believe, as I have already told you, that the reports which you say are in circulation have any other grounds than those of the speculations which men, looking at the state of public affairs, naturally form on the apparent necessity which may oblige the Government to strengthen itself before the meeting of Parliament. If there is anything in contemplation, which I again say I do not believe, I probably shall soon know it, as Rosslyn's daughter was to be married on Tuesday, and he will very soon be passing this way. If you really set out on the 16th

(but how can I believe it to be possible?), you will probably meet him.

Your visit must always be to me a great pleasure, but you have deferred it to a sad season, as we are now beginning to feel the real approaches of winter.

I have a letter this morning from Brougham—the first since he has been in town. It contains very little, but amongst other things that Denman was to attend, on the day on which he wrote, at Windsor with the Recorder's Report, the Recorder himself being ill.* I was very much amused at reading in the evening papers of the same date that an order had come from the King to put off the Council.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Saturday, Nov. 14th, 1829.

I am answering your letter of the 12th, my dear lord, on the spot, for it has just been brought to me. Your comment on the incident I related to you is, as all that comes from you, perfectly correct.

What is now under discussion at the conference is *your* boundary, and the choice of a head to the Government, who is to bear the title of *Sovereign Prince of Greece*. An *independent* Greece is all very fine, if it can be brought about, but how many prejudices and

* Mr. Denman had acted for Queen Caroline during her trial, as Solicitor-General. He was afterwards appointed to the office of Common-Serjeant by the Corporation of London, and as such acted as substitute to the Recorder. The King's dislike of him was not unnatural.

jealousies are there not still to vanquish before it can all be settled? And what a droll spectacle these two Governments of England and France present! When one agrees to a clause, the other will not hear of it. At the present moment I must allow the objections come from the French quarter. As soon as these have been satisfied, however, difficulties will crop up over here; and this is how the matter has gone on for the last two years. And then, who is to be the Sovereign of Greece? It is the great question to-day; I think it will all end by a mere drawing of lots; and yet the future of a nation is at stake.

We have no news, either from Constantinople or Adrianople, since what I sent you in my last. I do not know what to think of the account in the newspapers, according to which 200 Russians have been massacred. I trust it is false, for if it were true, just imagine what the consequences would be. The Council at Windsor for Tuesday was, as you observe, put off, because the King peremptorily refused to find himself face to face with Denman. According to what I hear, the Duke of Wellington's favour with the King is not on the increase. The recent audience lasted six minutes; the King received him with very bad humour, and they say the Duke took his revenge by an act of rudeness, which was, that he went out before the King had dismissed him, and, further, that he spoke to the King in an excessively blunt manner. All idea of Brighton has been given up. Lady Conyngham has had a dangerous relapse.

Matuscewitz has gone, but the conferences still continue as heretofore. The Duke of Wellington paid Matuscewitz much court and attention; he passed three

days with him at Strathfieldsay, with all Austria there to meet him, *four* in total.

I begin, my dear lord, to abandon all hope of getting down to you at Howick. I see no end to the conferences. It is not the winter season, I assure you, that would stop me. Fine weather added nothing to the reasons that made me wish to come down to you. But if I do not come, when are we to meet again? I trust you will be in town for the opening of Parliament, at latest.

And now, adieu, for my letter must go to the post.
A thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—They are going to give Stratford Canning the order of the Bath. I have already told you, I think, that they have given it to Gordon.

Howick,
Nov. 18th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have long thought there was little chance of your being able to accomplish your long-promised visit; but as long as you talked of it as possible, and even named the time at which it might take place, I could not allow myself altogether to despair. Your letter of the 14th deprives me of all possible hope, and is therefore, though I had so much reason to expect it, a severe disappointment. When I shall see you, God knows! Probably, not for four or five months, as it is at present my intention to stay here till after Easter.

On the subject of Greece, etc., I can have nothing more to say till I see the result of your eternal conferences.

Don't you think that Aberdeen would make an excellent King? If the Duke of Wellington is attentive to Matuscewitz, I hear that Aberdeen is no less so to you. Between the two, I hope a more friendly feeling may be produced between the two Governments. But I could not consent to pay the price for it, of making Matuscewitz your successor here. Is there no fear of this?

But to come to our domestic politics. Pray tell me something of the King, and of your friend the Duke of C.[umberland], who, I see, is constantly in attendance at Windsor. This may account for the reported disfavour of the Duke of Wellington, which appears to me much more probable than the contrary report, that the Duke of Cumberland is himself no longer so acceptable as he was to his brother. The renewed attack on the subject of Garth* looks like a renewed apprehension of the effect of his influence. If the lady's† illness should terminate fatally, who is speculated upon as the successor? What do you think of the probability of the King's returning to *ses premiers amours*? I must be sadly at a loss for topics when I resort to such things, but what can you expect from hence? You take no interest in the price of sheep or cattle, or of corn, in laying out grounds, or in making new plantations, or in the daily returns of game killed; and yet these are the only subjects which this place affords. This account will make you regret less the prevention of your visit. But it is that in truth which

* A Bill had been filed in Chancery by Captain Garth for the recovery of a certain box said to contain papers. See p. 240, and, for details of this scandal, the newspapers of the day, e.g., *The Examiner* for 1829, at pp. 164, 179; also *Annual Register*, 1829, p. 252.

† I.e., Lady Conyngham.

has the effect of my not being able to write with any comfort.

Do you continue so much in love as ever with Laval? He sees you daily, and you will cease to think of me in my banishment.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Nov. 21st, 1829.

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 18th. Alas! it is too true; we must give up our journey. They are at this moment awaiting despatches from Paris, which shall infuse new vigour into the conferences. No one can foresee when they will be brought to a close, and meanwhile, as you see, matters are tending to the worse for the present Ministry in France.

Polignac has been named first Minister, but I hardly know whether in his hands it will be a position of honour, or one which will carry with it much influence.

La Bourdonnaye has resigned, or has been turned out; but whichever it is, the fact remains—he is no longer in office.* They send us word from Paris that Rayneval will probably have the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Such being the case, I do not perceive that they have gained strength in any way. There is La Bourdonnaye the less, it is true, which is something, but no reinforcements have been taken in. The fact

* Prince Polignac had now become President of the Council, a post that M. la Bourdonnaye had greatly desired. The latter (who was nicknamed the ‘Marat of the Restoration,’ from the violence of his denunciations) had before this been Minister of the Interior in Prince Polignac’s Cabinet.

is, it is a pitiable Ministry, or, rather, Polignac is a pitiable Minister, with whom no man of any note will consent to act as colleague. La Bourdonnaye tried it, but with a view of governing him; it has not, however, succeeded, by reason of the hatred the country has shown for such an out-and-out Ultra. A divorce was the natural result. If the Ministry can gain no very remarkable accession of strength before the next two months are over, they must be turned out when the Chambers meet.

From this place I can send you no news. I have not seen Lord Aberdeen for more than a week. I see the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland daily, but beyond Windsor gossip they have nothing to tell me.

Lady Conyngham is still very ill; she has only left her bed for one hour during the last ten days. They say she is very feeble, and constantly in tears. I really do not know what to think of her illness. They cannot take her over to Windsor, and hence the King will not go there.

Why, my dear lord, will you not come to London till after Easter? It seems to me a resolution that is not well advised, and so I trust it is not immutable. I should be very sad at thinking I must remain so long without seeing you. Pray send me some better news on this point, and be quick about it.

You make me laugh about the Duc de Laval, and the poor man will himself now be unable to do this, which is the only thing that makes me enjoy his society. He has lost his mother, and is terribly afflicted about it. I have only seen him once since the sad event. People here will not allow that he has even the merit I find in him, for I hold he is of an

original wit, and has a novel way of saying things—in short, that he is a very droll personage, and hence amusing. They tell me he has not a shadow of wit about him ; but this cannot be, for I never was amused by anyone who lacked this quality. As to business capacity, I am much inclined to think he is guiltless of anything of this nature. The Cowpers are in town for a few days, and this made me go in yesterday to have them to dine with me, and the same happens again to-morrow.

Adieu, my dear lord. Come up, I beseech you, for the opening of Parliament. What is to become of me in London, if you are not there ?

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Nov. 25th, 1829.

The more, my dear lord, I think over your idea of not coming to London till after Easter, the less do I grow reconciled to it. You do not tell me your reasons for staying away, so I cannot combat them ; but I really can think of nothing that should keep you in the North, and therefore trust you have only said this to frighten me. In this you have succeeded perfectly, and nothing would annoy me more than to think you should persist in keeping to the project.

I had a talk the other day with Lord Aberdeen ; he always makes me laugh. After having discussed the present French Ministry at some length, I ended by saying to him : ‘ In short, there is not a man of talent in the whole Government ; they are all a pack

of fools.' To which he replied: 'Of which Government are you speaking—of ours, or of the French?' There is no resisting a man who says such things. When I told him I feared you would not come up before Easter, he observed, after a momentary pause, that, in point of fact, it might, perhaps, be all the better for the Government. It amuses me to see how, on every side, they both fear and want you; how everybody is thinking of you; how, in short, when speaking of you, people only agree on one point, namely, that the party you espouse will dominate all the rest—indeed, you hold in your hands the destinies of England. But will you consent to rule these destinies?

Greek affairs are, for the moment, transferred to Paris. As it was on that side the difficulties have of late arisen, Matuscewitz was commissioned to go and settle them with M. de Polignac. To-day, matters are re-transferred back here, and the conferences begin again. I fear they will go lingering on for a long time still to come. And yet both your Government and the French ought to see it is to their interest to bring matters to a close before the meeting of their respective Parliaments.

The newspapers will have told you of all the annoyance and the provocation the Pashas are still giving us (it is now the fashion to say that the acts of the subordinates are not the acts of the Turkish Government); I trust, however, it is all over by this time, for otherwise we can hardly be considered really at peace. Lord Aberdeen told me that the Emperor had refused to receive the Turkish Ambassadors. He further added that the Emperor had not ratified the article relating to the occupation of the Principalities during the next

ten years, nor that relating to the amount of the indemnity. All this is very generous of him, but I do not see that Turkey is doing much to merit it.

Lady Conyngham is still very ill. The Duchess of Gloucester, whom I saw at Bushey Park yesterday, had been to see the King the day before. She found Lord Conyngham crying like a child, and the King very anxious indeed. He is resolved to give up all his time and attention to Lady C., and to receive no one till she is recovered. This recovery is likely to be much protracted, even if it be eventually possible. She never leaves her bed, and does nothing but cry, imagining she is dying. She wants them to take her up to London, but that is out of the question. All this must make a most melancholy Court.

We have snow a foot deep here; how much of it have you at Howick? Lord Tankerville has been telling me of your comfortable home there; how I wish I were with you!

Good-bye, my dear lord. Have you read Gally Knight's letter to Lord Aberdeen, and what do you think of it?

I still am waiting with impatience to hear from you.

Alnwick,

Nov. 26th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received yesterday your letter of the 21st. You tell me nothing, and having nothing to answer, the best return I can make for it will only be a most unprofitable interruption of your time.

Yet you say that you have daily communication with the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, but that

they furnish nothing beyond news from Windsor. News, however, from that quarter will now begin to be very interesting. From all that I can observe and all that I hear, though from the loosest of all possible authority, the intercourse between the King and his Minister does not improve in confidence or cordiality. For this the constant visits of the Duke of C.[umberland] at Windsor are sufficient to account. But what does he propose to himself? Does he imagine that he has the means of forming an Administration such as he would like? The attempt, unless I greatly miscalculate the elements out of which such an arrangement could be formed, would not be more successful than a similar attempt seems likely to prove in France. Or would he assist in a junction between Huskisson and his friends and the old Tories, against the common enemy? Or does he set aside all calculations of this sort, in his desire to gratify his revenge, by creating every sort of difficulty and annoyance that he can, to embarrass the Duke of Wellington? Surely you must have it in your power to afford me some light on these matters? Yet I wish that you may not, for amidst all the bitterness which I foresee will prevail in the party contests which are approaching in Parliament, I should be sorry to have you afford the slightest pretence for anyone to attack you for interfering in our domestic politics. If anything could make me alter my determination to remain here a quiet, though not an uninterested, spectator of passing events, it would be the kind and flattering anxiety which you express for my return to London. For that determination I think you might without much ingenuity discover a very intelligible motive in what I have already said.

But there are many others, both public and private, too long, and some of them, perhaps, too uninteresting to you, for a letter. I am, therefore, for good or for bad (for bad, only as it must deprive me of the happiness of seeing you), fixed here till Easter.

I have no doubt your estimate of the Duc de Laval is the right one. It is confirmed by what Lord Ponsonby—than whom there is no better judge—has told me. He has known him all his life, and says that he is decidedly a clever man, and, what is more, a good one. Am I not very generous in bearing this testimony in favour of a person who occupies so much of your time and of your thoughts?

We had the Duchess of Bedford here yesterday with one of her daughters. She came the night before and left us this morning. She was in a great hurry to be at Woburn in time for a large party—the Duke of Wellington, Esterhazy, and I know not who—who are to be there on Sunday. What a long letter, containing nothing! It is time it should finish; the only excuse that I can offer for it is the pleasure I have in conversing with you. But do I not risk something by exposing my stupidity?

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Nov. 28th, 1829.

I have this moment, my dear lord, received your letter of the 26th; how grieved I am that you persist in your intention of not coming to London before Easter!

Tuesday, Dec. 1st.

My letter begun Saturday remained at this point. A husband, a messenger, visits to pay, and a journey up to town, such are the impediments that have stood between us. But I come back to you, my dear lord, at the first possible moment, and return to the charge. In all you tell me of your reasons for not coming to London, the only point clear to me is—that you feel a repugnance at being in town at a moment when you foresee there will be considerable stir in politics. But it seems to me that for an Englishman and a statesman, and for one occupying the high position you do, such a reason is the worst possible for staying away. It is not when everything is calm that one is required. It is exactly in bad weather that great men should come to the front, and if there is to be a tempest it is then you will be wanted. You see I cannot sympathize with your motives for keeping away ; and the fact is, that however good a cause you might assign to me for so doing, I should find it unreasonable. Further, your speculations about party intrigues, and of their being likely to come to anything, appear to me the reverse of probable ; and however they may turn out, you may be perfectly sure I shall keep out of it all, though I do not understand why you wish I should remain ignorant of what is going on.

Assuredly you must have a sufficiently exact knowledge of our profession, to know it is part of our business to try and learn about everything of importance that takes place in the country to which we are accredited. If, therefore, chance or my position in society give me the means of ascertaining what it may interest my Court to know, you would not, I suppose, exact of me

that I should shut my eyes and ears? In short, *to know* and to meddle in nothing are, in my eyes, my two chief duties. After which exordium, I will tell you that, on my conscience, I know nothing, and that I think nothing is being plotted. I will say more—I am far even from wishing it. Will you understand me when I say I am delighted that it is the Duke of Wellington who has been at the head of affairs in England during our war and while the peace was being made? It is hardly necessary to explain why to a man of intelligence, such as you are, and you must allow me now, for the first time, to play the part of prudence in my letters to you.

The King is in excellent health, and Lady Conyngham is better. This is the most recent news from Windsor. What do you say to the reception Palmella has received at Dover? Three weeks ago, as I was told, the commandant at that port received orders not to fail to pay him all the honours due to an Ambassador. This piece of news being equally known to my colleagues, one of them, Esterhazy, went in haste to Aberdeen to know the reason of it all. I do not know what answer he got. But the order was so little countermanded that Palmella received a salute of nineteen guns, and was met by a guard of honour, etc. I saw him yesterday for a moment; he told me the matter had seemed to savour so much of mystification that he had been much inclined to ask whether they were not, perhaps, paying him funeral honours. It is almost incredible, after all that has gone before in this matter.*

* He was at this time occupying the post of Ambassador of the little Queen Donna Maria at the English Court. Don Miguel had recently condemned him to death.

The Pope has not recognised Don Miguel, and has disavowed the action of his Nuncio. Polignac caused this fact to be made public in the *Moniteur*. Four hundred Portuguese have gone from France to reinforce the garrison of Terceira. Two hundred more remain in France. The Spanish expedition against Mexico has been a complete failure. You will see about it all in the newspapers. We are awaiting news from home of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty. All we know is, that Giurgevo had not been evacuated, and that the Pasha of Scutari had had an engagement with our troops. Geismar had to fight the whole of one day to dislodge him. I do not know whether the Pasha will have considered this as a sufficient lesson. What do you say to this way of keeping the peace? and this, too, at the very time when the Emperor is showing the greatest generosity toward the Turks! All I can say is, I hope Diebitsch has only exchanged the ratifications on receiving proper guarantees. The couriers between here and Paris go on passing from week's end to week's end. It is hoped soon to finish this Greek business, but there really seems no end to it. It is just as I have already told you: when one side gives way, the other makes fresh difficulties, and this is the game they have both been playing for the last year and a half.

I do not know if you have heard that the Duke of Cumberland is very ill of a rheumatic fever. He was seized with it yesterday, while I was spending the evening with them. I have just received word from the Duchess that all the night through he was in great danger; constant fits of suffocation, with delirium and

other bad symptoms. Poor woman! I pity her with all my heart.

Adieu, my dear lord; I leave you for the Sun's company, who is gallant enough to have come out to-day.

A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

P.S.—Rumour says they are going to give the Viceroyalty of Ireland to Lord Jersey. Do you see Lady Jersey in the position of Vice-queen?

Howick,

Nov. 29th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter of the 25th was a great and unexpected pleasure. It was most kind and amiable in you to write again so soon, and I should be most undeserving of your goodness if I allowed any time to pass without acknowledging it. Aberdeen's conversations are very curious, and his doubt as to the Government, of which you intended to give so flattering a character, not a little amusing. Was it innocence, or was it *persiflage*? In what he said of my coming, I have no doubt that he spoke as he felt; compared with what he before said to you on the same subject, it proves that whatever may have been the case antecedently, there is, at this moment, no idea of any arrangement in which I could be concerned. Whether or not this is best for the Government, I will not pretend to determine. That is their affair. But I am sure it is best for me. As a proof that nothing is now in contemplation, I must tell you (but under the seal of the strictest confidence) what I know the Duke of

Wellington said not long ago, when talking with a person who expressed his anxiety for a junction with me, upon this subject. After saying that he felt the same desire, he added : ‘ But it would not do to propose it to the King at present. But I am not at all sure, though he would not allow me to propose him, that he might not be induced to make Lord Grey Minister to get rid of me.’ I cannot doubt that this passed. I leave you to make your own comments. But do not, for the love of God, repeat it to any living soul, as, if it should get out, it would infallibly be traced to the person from whom I heard it, and to whom it would be ruin. I will only add that it was not Rosslyn, from whom I have not heard since I told you that I expected him here.

I have not read Gally Knight’s pamphlet, but will do so as soon as I am confined to the house by such weather as you have in London. . . . Though I have not read Gally Knight, I have, however, read another pamphlet which has been sent to me from Paris, written by a certain Baron de Richemont, which confirms all my worst fears as to the views and objects of the Liberal Party in France. It is written in the most bitter and undisguised spirit of hostility to England ; proposes a triple alliance between France, Russia, and Prussia ; the former to have the boundary of the Rhine ; you, whatever you please in Turkey ; and Prussia to be indemnified by what remains of Saxony and a part of Hanover, the rest to be given with Oldenburg as an indemnity to Holland. This gentleman thinks that there would be no difficulty in the execution of such a project, and that it would not even occasion a war ! Notwithstanding this extravagance, however, a great deal of tedious

repetition and some striking contradictions, the pamphlet shows some ability, and has, I hear, made a considerable sensation in Paris. I am told in addition, what I hope is not true, that all this hostility to England, and the attacks that are constantly made upon us by the Liberal papers, are encouraged and instigated by Pozzo. If things take this course, then, indeed, I shall be forced out of my retirement, to assist anybody, be he what he may, in stopping it. But at present I remain obstinate in my resolution, which it is no flattery to say, if anybody could shake, you would. I really find it so impossible to enter into all the reasons that support this resolution, that I must run the risk of your concluding that I have none of real solidity. But you ascribe a good deal too much importance to me, and perhaps this might furnish an additional motive to remain where I am, that I may not show to the world how little in reality that influence is, from which, at present, such decisive effects are expected.

As you do not say what are, at present, the points of difficulty about Greece, and still less what it is the French Government objects to, I am totally in the dark on that subject. It seems to me one which, in the state to which these affairs are now brought, might have been easily settled.

What is your old friend Metternich about? Is it true that he is making a great augmentation of the Austrian army? This, considering how inconvenient the expense must be to them, would appear to indicate something. Do you hear anything of Falck? * Is he coming to resume his post here? Do you remember my telling him to be on his guard against such a project

* At one time Dutch Minister in London.

as the Baron de Richemont recommends? Where is Palmella, and what are his prospects? To judge from the papers, the period of the recognition of Don Miguel would not appear to be far distant.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFERENCES ON GREECE.

Dangerous Illness of the Czar—The Choice of a Sovereign for Greece—News from Windsor—Defeat of the Turks near Erzeroum—Dinner at Kensington Palace—Arrangements for the Succession in Russia, in Event of the Czar's Death—Prince Polignac's Answer to Lord Aberdeen's Advice—State of Public Opinion in France; Hatred of England—Palmella—News of the Czar's Recovery—Affairs in France—Lord Grey's View of the State of Political Parties in England; his Reasons for Remaining Inactive—The Article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*—The True Account of the Czar's Illness—The Duc de Laval's Generous Act; the Duc de Dino's Debts—The Duke of Wellington's Distrust of Madame de Lieven—Christmas-trees at Panshanger—Government Prosecution of the *Morning Journal*—Forecast for the New Year—The Correspondence between the Princess and Lord Grey gives Umbrage to the Government—The Conferences on Greece—Candidates for the Throne—Prince Leopold—France; the King's Intention to Govern by Ordinances—Madame la Dauphine—Death of Sir Thomas Lawrence—Madame de Lieven's Memoirs—The Dangerous State of the King's Health—Prince Leopold and the Sovereignty of Greece—Bitterness of Public Feeling in France against England—George IV. refuses Leopold should be named Sovereign; the King gives way—Mr. Liddell's Meeting; the General Distress—The Opposition in Parliament to be led by Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston—Rumours of the Recall of Prince Lieven—The Duke of Wellington's Request for his Recall—Lord Aberdeen's Misrepresentation to the King—Success of M. de Lieven at the Conferences on Greece—Count Capo d'Istria—Death of Queen Charlotte of Portugal—Death of Mr. Tierney—Distress in the Country—Lord Chandos—The Duke of Cumberland and Lady Graves—The Protocol for Settling the Government of Greece—Mr. Brougham and the Duke of Cleveland—Lord Howick's Seat for Winchelsea—Members of the Opposition in the Coming Session of Parliament.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 6th, 1829.

I have put off answering your letter of the 30th, my dear lord, till the present moment, for the

day I received it there arrived from Petersburg news of the Emperor's state of health which caused us the greatest anxiety. He had had a chill, and the fever which followed had already run for seven days, without their being able to cut it. We cannot hope to receive news again before to-morrow, and till then I shall be in an agony of suspense ; indeed, it prevents me for the moment from occupying myself with any other subject.

I am astonished at the warmth with which you speak of General Richemont's pamphlet ; his projects show he must be a madman, and, therefore, that they merit nobody's serious attention. His hatred of England is a feeling that the greater number of his countrymen share with him—that is true enough. The cause, as I believe, is to be discovered in the fact that Liberal ideas have of recent times greatly spread in France, and that the foreign policy of your Government during the last two years has not shown itself of this brand. But since this feeling of ill-will is due to peculiar circumstances, it surely must pass away with these circumstances. This, at least, seems to me the natural conclusion to be drawn. I think you must be joking in writing to me of the part Pozzo can have had in such a publication. He would have given his man better information, and would not have allowed him to embark in political speculations which, from their very absurdity, are unworthy of attention. To cite but a single instance, I will willingly wager my head that Russia would defend Belgium with even greater ardour than England herself would do. Ask the Duke of Wellington what he thinks of the pamphlet, and I answer for it he would say the same as I do.

Greek affairs have not progressed a single hair's breadth since I last wrote. The three Powers are of a mind on all matters, except the one point of the choice of a Sovereign. It is on this now that the discussion turns. When it will finish it is impossible to say.

I know no news about Metternich : he is now paying court to us—that was to be foreseen ; and he will not succeed—that is what *I* foresee.

I told you about Palmella in my last letter, and to what I then wrote I have nothing to add to-day. The affair of the salutes at Dover remains a strange incident ; but to blow hot and cold at one and the same time is no new game for them to play. I have heard nothing of Falck, but I am persuaded he will return to his post ; unless, perhaps, they give him a place in the Administration in Belgium, which would be a piece of luck for that country, where matters at the present moment are going as badly as they well can. The people are all very much excited, and the malcontents are numerous. I have now answered all the queries contained in your letter, and may add that you can rest well assured I will not abuse the confidence you have given me in the matter of the Duke of Wellington's proposal to you. Believe me, in all matters I keep what you tell me to myself.

The Duke of Cumberland is almost entirely well again ; and the King having expressed a wish to see him, he went over yesterday to Windsor for that purpose, but still in his dressing-gown.

Lady Conyngham is better ; she sits up now two hours a day, but no more. It will be impossible for her to be moved over to the Castle for another fortnight at least.

Monday, the 7th.

The news we get this morning from Petersburg is not good. The bulletin of the 21st announces no progress for the better, while the fact that it is signed by a third physician seems to me a cause rather for anxiety. You can hardly conceive how greatly I am affected by it all. Of late years I have become so accustomed to sorrow following on sorrow, that I always fear the worst.

Lord Aberdeen came down to see me here yesterday. He appears to me very tranquil in mind about the Government over here, and very un-tranquil about the one in France. He seems to think Polignac will not manage to hold out even till the Chambers meet. He has had a long interview with Palmella, with whom, as I gathered, he was well satisfied ; that is to say, he finds him resigned to the worst, and in truth there is nothing else to be expected. Aberdeen says that the first condition necessary to Don Miguel's being recognised would be his making a restitution of the confiscated property and the titles of the refugees. Certainly Palmella will neither return to Portugal nor undertake to represent the Portuguese Government here as long as Don Miguel remains in power. The only matter that now occupies him is how to leave his children provided for, and beyond the reach of want.

You will have read in the newspapers the account of the two late events : namely, the battle in Europe, and the one in Asia. It was a bloody victory Paskievitch gained, and withal a sad triumph, for it is useless.* The Turks had not allowed the messenger who

* The Turkish Seraskier was defeated near Erzeroum in the first days of October.

brought the news of the peace to disembark at Trebizond, and so it only reached them two days after the fight.

As to the engagement in Europe, the Pasha of Scutari sent Diebitsch a summons, saying that, 'if he did not evacuate Adrianople by October 28, he would come and drive him out.' Diebitsch in reply despatched some troops to observe his movements, and when the Pasha began to advance, sent a flag of truce, exhorting him to observe the peace, and pointing out the consequences which must infallibly ensue were he to recommence the conflict. The messenger with the flag of truce was killed, and the battle began. The Pasha was defeated. We took from him his cannon and some prisoners; these were subsequently sent back, on receiving the Pasha's promise to submit. But what bad faith they all show!

The King holds a Council at Windsor to-day. Parliament is to meet February 4. I hope to see you on the 3rd. I go up to town to-day to a great dinner at the Duchess of Kent's, consisting of the Royal Family and the Corps Diplomatique. I had much rather have dined here quietly alone. I do not feel well, and I am sad at heart.

My husband has received a despatch from Nesselrode dated November 21. The Emperor's illness is an inflammatory fever, with determination of blood to the head. They have bled him twice.

I am very, very anxious. Adieu.

Howick,
Dec. 7th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

It is in the first place necessary for me to offer some excuse for a longer delay than usual in answering your letter of the 1st. . . . I will not waste your time by any further discussion of my intention not to leave this place for the present. All you say is *generally* quite true ; but a question of this nature must be decided by the particular circumstances of the case, and I have, or think I have, unanswerable reasons for remaining where I am in the state of parties (or rather of individuals, for there is no longer any united party, except that of the Government), in the uncertain state of all political relations both public and private, and, above all, in circumstances which affect me personally, and to which I have not only a right, but feel it to be a duty, to attend. It is true that it is in a season of difficulty, and not of ease, that the exertions of a public man are most required. But if the sea is agitated by storms, the winds shifting from every quarter, and fleets approaching in which I know not where to look for my friends or my enemies, surely it is only the part of prudence to remain at anchor in a secure harbour, till I see more plainly the course I have to steer, and have some assurance that by putting to sea I may not promote the objects of those whose views are very different from mine.

I have said more on this subject than I had intended, but when I once begin talking with you on any subject I do not know when or how to stop. I will conclude here, however, begging you only to believe that I have merely hinted at a very small part of what I have to say in my justification.

As the papers speak of his being well again, I conclude that the Duke of Cumberland's illness was not in reality serious. But these inflammatory attacks are always to be regarded with some uneasiness in our Royal Family. Lady Conyngham, too, I hear, is better. Is it not a singular thing that her name never appears by any chance in any of the papers? Your Emperor, too, I see, has been ill, but this too, I trust, has passed. For your sake, as I know the pain it would give you, but also for the sake of Europe, whose interests I believe to be much connected with his safety, I sincerely hope that all danger is over.

You understand me too literally when you suppose me to exclude you from a knowledge of what is going on. I know that it is your business and your duty to gain the best information you can of all that is passing; I only meant to express in the strongest terms my opinion of the necessity of your not interfering in our domestic politics, in reality, or even in appearance. The charge of doing so not only does you harm personally, but throws obstacles and difficulties in the way of the business with which you are entrusted. I desire nothing more, after this caution, than that you should observe your own rule, '*Savoir et ne vous mêler de rien.*'

The salute to Palmella, and still more the particular order for it, is indeed most extraordinary. These are things of which I do not pretend to understand the meaning. I conclude that the refractory Pashas have been repressed, but their conduct furnishes another proof, if proof were wanting, of the total destruction of the power of the Turkish Empire.

I have not heard from any other person of the

appointment of Lord Jersey to Ireland. He wrote to me a few days ago, but said nothing to excite the slightest suspicion that such a thing was in contemplation ; but it would not surprise me.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 8th, 1829.

I finished my letter to you yesterday, my dear lord, very abruptly. I had come up to town to attend a great dinner at Kensington Palace, and I briefly added the fresh causes for anxiety that letters from home had brought. I return to the same subject to-day, not that I have anything new to add, but because, in the event of anything happening, I should be sorry if you were to believe, even for a moment, the absurd notions current in the English newspapers of what would be the consequences of this great calamity. Our good friends hope for '*a disputed succession*;' but they will not have this gratification. The son of Nicholas will be proclaimed Emperor under the title of Alexander II. The Grand-Duke Michael, the Emperor's next brother, will govern the Empire during the minority, which must last six years. The Empress will be sole guardian of the young Emperor. There will be no question of Constantine's succeeding. Such are the terms of the clauses added by the Emperor Nicholas to the law of succession, on the day of his coronation at Moscow ; and this is what will be carried into effect.

All I have just told you is positive, and I may add the following remarks, of the truth of which I am fully convinced, knowing, as I do, the character of the Grand-Duke Michael. He will change nothing of the policy inaugurated by his brother ; he will not displace a single individual, and will follow, perhaps, even more exactly than the Emperor Nicholas has done, the advice of his Ministers, for the very reason that as his government is only temporary, he will assume the smallest possible amount of individual power, in order to have the less responsibility on his shoulders. I send you all these explanations, my dear lord, for the eventuality of our having to suffer a great calamity ; but this I still hope we may be spared. I should regard it as one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall my country, were we to lose a Sovereign whose four years of reign have been marked by so much glory and advantage to Russia, who has shown such sagacity, and so firm and consistent a policy, and who each day has proved himself more and more worthy of governing a great empire. The next news we get will be decisive. The malady must show signs of a turn for the better, or all will soon be over.

I partook of a long and most royal dinner yesterday at the Duchess of Kent's. There were present nine Princes and Princesses, the Esterhazys, Laval, and ourselves. The Ministers were to have formed part of the company, but the Council at Windsor prevented their coming. The fall of the Ministry in France must be expected shortly, for things cannot go on much longer in the state they are in at present. Between ourselves, Stuart was some time ago given instructions to make a confidential representation to

Polignac, and to give him a piece of advice on the necessity of conciliating public opinion, etc. Polignac's answer to this was, 'Advise the English Ministers to have a care to themselves; it is of greater necessity for them to attend to this, than to meddle in our affairs.' The advice may be good in principle; it is rather curious, however, coming whence it does, and not the least curious part of the story is that it was Aberdeen who related the incident to me.

You will begin, my dear lord, to complain of the frequency of my letters. The easiest way of ridding yourself of the annoyance will be for you not to imitate them in their frequency. Do you understand what is implied thereby? Adieu; my next letter will either be a very sad or a very happy one.

Howick,

Dec. 10th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Yesterday's and this morning's posts have brought me your letters of the 7th and 8th. I had anticipated all the anxiety and distress you must feel on account of the Emperor's illness. I participate in it most sincerely. . . . I am much obliged to you for the account of the manner in which the succession is regulated. The provision is clear and satisfactory, but history proves how very inefficient the rules of law or the obligations of duty too frequently prove in such cases. I give full credit to your opinion of the character of the Grand-Duke Michael. I have no doubt of its being correctly formed on such grounds as you possessed for careful observation. But who can know the character of Princes till they are tried? Who can answer for

the effect which may be produced upon them by the temptation of power, the influence of favourites, and the advantages of opportunity? I sincerely hope that none of these may prove of force sufficient to seduce the Regent, if there is to be one, from the path of his duty. Surely this must be the wish of everybody who has the feelings of a Christian, or, at this moment, the views of a statesman. You surprise me by saying that there are persons who hope for a disputed succession. Can it be for the interest of anybody to have a Michael in Russia, after the fashion of the Michael of Portugal? I should have thought that at least our Ministers had sufficiently experienced the embarrassment arising from such an infliction in that little country, to wish to see it extended to the great and powerful Empire of Russia, at the risk of all the evils which it might produce to the peace of the world. The answer of Polignac to Sir Charles Stuart was such as the representation made by the latter deserved. But how does this agree with the constant declarations of our Government that they abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of France? I have lately had an opportunity of hearing, from a person in whose judgment I have great dependence, of what is going on in Paris. From him I collect much the same opinion as you express, with respect to the stability of the present Government. They appear to me, however, still to show a firm countenance. And that in itself is something. I think, too, that at this moment they show more prudence than their opponents, whose violence, and above all whose disposition to war, may not impossibly drive men of moderation, and lovers of peace, to support even Ministers whom they dislike, as

their only recourse against so great an evil. If it comes to a decided struggle, the question will be ultimately decided by the army, who will decide it not for the Bourbons, or for the Liberals, but for themselves ; and then farewell to all hope of peace. I am afraid that the hatred in France of this country has a more lasting motive than temporary circumstances. I do not wonder at it, considering all that has been done since the peace of 1814. I probably should have the same feeling if I were a Frenchman.

The error dates much further back than the change of our policy on Canning's death, if it was changed then. The true season for a Liberal policy would have been that of the settlement of Europe at the peace. I need not tell you how different the system was which was then pursued by Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Metternich, and you. You were all equally to blame. But the effect, and not the cause, is what we now have to deal with, and whatever the cause of their enmity may have been, or whatever its justification, the enemies of England must be considered by me as my enemies. Though attached to Liberal principles, therefore, and naturally inclined to the Liberal Party in France, their avowed hostility to England must make me wish for Polignac or for anybody in preference to them. As to the Baron de Richemont, personally I do not attach much importance to him. But I have too much reason to fear that his views, extravagant as you think them, and as they really are, have but too many supporters. I did not mean that their opinions particularly were encouraged by Pozzo (and nothing could give me greater pleasure than what you say of the feeling of your Government with respect to the Netherlands),

but you may be assured that there is an opinion very prevalent among well-informed persons in Paris, that the general tone of hostility to this country is very much encouraged by him. But it is time that I should stop here. You surely must have fascinated Aberdeen to make him talk in such a manner. I should like to hear what the Duke of Wellington would say if he were told that the Secretary of State had acknowledged to you that representations had been made by the British Ambassador to the French Minister, such as you describe. What he said to Palmella is not less extraordinary. What right have we to interfere with respect to the conduct of the King of Portugal towards his own subjects? Do we mean not only to stipulate for, but to guarantee the restoration of, the rights and titles of the exiles? If not, what do we prepare for ourselves but a fresh insult? Such an interference would not be less objectionable in principle than an interference to support the title of Donna Maria; and I certainly should have preferred that which would have been at once more honourable and more effectual.

It is time that this long letter should finish. Let me hear from you immediately, for I think of you constantly and anxiously.

Most entirely yours,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 14th, 1829.

You will assuredly, my dear lord, have shared with us the joy which the news of the Emperor's recovery has brought. In truth, I can remember no

event which has ever caused me so much happiness. My fears were very great, and the good news has made me almost beside myself with joy. It will not have given so much pleasure, however, in certain other quarters. There were many speculations set afloat, and I think M. de Metternich must be rather paler than usual.

The only thing that is clear to me in your last letter is, that you are not coming up to London. Do not fear to have been guilty of an indiscretion in telling me of your motives ; there never was a more prudent man than you, for may I die on the spot if anything you say lets me guess in the smallest degree what your real reason for it all is. The conclusion of your argument, giving the motive for your keeping away from Parliament, is : ' I remain in a secure harbour till I see plainly the course I can steer, and can have some assurance that by putting to sea I may not promote the objects of those whose views are very different from mine.' But who are '*those*' ? This is the whole question, and, till you tell me, I must declare myself totally incapable of guessing what your views may be. You are not like an Englishman, my dear lord ; one knows not how to take you ; now do pray aid me to understand the matter.

Things are going at a gallop in France. The Government is determined to face every risk, and brave it out. It is a perilous course to pursue. I do not say for themselves (for, after all, what does it matter whether one set of men hold the power, or do not hold it ?), but for the State, which they may sacrifice for the sake of their puerile vanity. Their great object now is to represent France as on the verge of

another revolution, and to inculcate this view of theirs on all the other Cabinets. Your Government sees through their spectacles ; it is a grave error, and may lead to disastrous consequences.

We are going to-day to Claremont, to stay with Prince Leopold for some days, and then on to the Salisburys'. My husband will profit but little of the visit, for he is in hopes that this week at last will see the end of the Greek Question. I have still my doubts on the point. They have invariably met with some new obstacle just as they thought they were coming to the end of it all.

Lady Conyngham is getting quite well. Adieu, my dear lord. How pained I am at thinking how long it will be before I see you again ! how I shall suffer from *ennui* in London without you !

Just as I was closing my letter to you I received yours of the 10th, and I open mine once more to thank you for it.

I enjoy your letters more than anything, except it be your society, and not being able to enjoy the one, I beg you to let me enjoy the others as often, and at as great length, as possible. All you say to me in regard to Aberdeen's strange confidences is perfectly true ; but the more strange they are, the more I beseech you to let no living soul know anything about them. You know I tell you all, because I have perfect confidence in you.

Aberdeen came out yesterday to see me at Richmond, but I had gone out with my husband, and returned so late that he had been obliged to set out back to town again. For your sake I am sorry, as, perhaps, had I seen him, I should have been able to

amuse you more than I can do of my own unaided powers. How I should like to have a talk with you! How I enjoy, and at the same time deplore, these letters!

Adieu, my dear lord.

Howick,
Dec. 17th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 14th. I expected to have heard from you before ; perhaps this was unreasonable. But I thought I had a right to hear from *you* the first accounts of the Emperor's recovery. I read them, however, in the papers, and I felt all the pleasure which anything that so deeply interested you must necessarily give me.

It is not prudence, but the impossibility which I find of entering into so long a discussion as a full explanation of all the motives of the determination which you censure so severely would require, that prevents my saying all that I should wish to you, if I could have the happiness of seeing you, on that subject. Yet I should have thought that I had said enough to a person so intelligent as you are, and so well acquainted with everything that is passing here. I do not deal much in metaphors and in figures, which in general are not the best calculated for perspicuity, and what I said about storms and calms, etc., was following out what you had said, and would, I thought, have given you a clue, at least, to what was passing in my mind. You ask, 'Who are *those*?' They are : 1st, the King, by whom I am proscribed ; 2nd, the Duke of Wellington,

with whom I agreed upon the repeal of the Test Act and the Relief Bill, and to whom I feel grateful for those measures, but whose general policy, except in these two measures, has never agreed with mine, nor do I know that it does so now; 3rd, there are the Tories, who at this moment are inveterate against the Duke, but who have always considered him as their chief support till last year, and will no doubt be ready again to rally under his standard if they should see nothing better to be done; 4th, there is Huskisson and his little clique, which I consider as now separated from the Cannings, but who have already shown a disposition (and would, no doubt, be ready upon a slight invitation) to return to office; 5th, there are the friends of Canning, who are probably not very well disposed towards me, and who would be very glad to forward their own views on any opportunity that I might afford them; 6th, there is the remnant of the Grenvilles, with the fat Duke* at their head, who would be glad to be taken in on any terms; 7th, there are the divided, though more numerous, members of the old Opposition, with Lord Lansdowne, etc., whose views and whose policy I find it difficult to define, but whom I see no prospect at present of uniting in any consistent and vigorous course of action. Now, amongst these discordant elements can you tell me how to choose? and do you not see that the only probable effect of my taking an active part in any measure which they might for the moment unite in supporting, against the Government, would be the junction of some of them with the present Ministers, favoured, as such a measure would

* The first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. As to his size, see H. B.'s 'Sketches,' No. cxcii., *The Mountain in Labour*.

be, by the King, for the purpose of continuing and ensuring my exclusion? Am I then so much in the wrong in saying that I will continue at anchor till I see which way the wind blows, and in which of the fleets that are approaching I may look for my friends or my enemies; and can you be at a loss to understand who *those* are whom I may assist if I act prematurely and incautiously, not only in views very different from mine, but in forwarding these views at my expense? I say all this, however, on the supposition that I am not called upon to support or oppose any public measure so immediately affecting the general interests as to silence all other considerations. In that case I should be found at my post, to do what my duty required, whatever the result to myself might be. But such a crisis is not likely to arise, unless my calculations greatly mislead me, before Easter. Well, here, after all, is an explanation, which only shows your power of making me say or do whatever you please. After all, however, it is so incomplete that I repent having swerved from my first determination to reserve it for our meeting; and if I had time to write another letter for this post, I should be tempted to throw this into the fire.

Lord Rosslyn has been here for the last three days, and left us this morning to proceed on his journey to Scotland. Well, I have nothing to tell you. The conversations I have had with him only confirm what I before knew—that the Duke of Wellington, whatever his inclination may be, does not feel that he can propose to the King any union with me. Things, then, remain as they were. My position is unaltered, and I am quite satisfied with it. My only regret is, that it

keeps me at such a distance from you. How much I long to see you it would be impossible for me to say without giving you a right to laugh at me. . . . I conclude, therefore, repeating that

I am ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Dec. 20th, 1829.

I received your letter of the 17th yesterday, my dear lord; it is too late to answer it by to-day's post, hence it will only be to-morrow that I shall despatch this. I none the less write to-day, as I can foresee that later on I shall not have any free time. Assuredly nothing can be clearer than the explanation you have been good enough to write me in response to my query, as to whom you meant by '*those*.' The answer is complete, and the category of '*those*' is a full one.

As such is your position, you have—and no one can deny it—ample reason for waiting 'in a secure harbour.' But why is your position what it now is? This is what astonishes and pains me. You, who are a man to command others, why do you find yourself thus isolated? I know well the answer to this fresh question would run into too great lengths to be treated of in a letter. I do not, therefore, pretend to hope you will gratify me on the point; but I repeat I am pained by the present condition of things, and more than all, I am pained by our separation, which is a real sorrow to me. I shall continue writing to you, though this is but a small comfort.

I am indeed surprised at Lord Rosslyn's visit giving you 'nothing to tell me.' Do you remember the argument Lord Aberdeen held to me some weeks back, namely, that the Duke of Wellington having once before triumphed over the King's obstruction in a more serious matter than the present, his Grace could not fail, if he only tried, in this case too? It is a perfectly sound argument, and I would further adduce, if it were said that sometimes personal antipathies are even more difficult to combat than matters of principle, that the Duke of Wellington forced the King in the year '22 to accept Canning, and certainly H.M.'s feelings of hatred and resentment towards that statesman were of the strongest possible description. With such an instance of success in overcoming difficulties of this nature, one is naturally led to the conclusion that the Duke does not in truth *want* you as a colleague, and this has all along been my private opinion :—for the reason I have often told you, namely, that he is willing to be eclipsed by no one. I pity, or envy, Lord Rosslyn his innocence and simplicity in believing as he does ; and that is all I can say.

There is no fresh news for me to send you. Everybody is of opinion that Polignac's Administration has only a few weeks yet to live, and your Ministers participate in this view. Meanwhile Polignac says he is strong. What a misfortune, if he really has made up his mind to annul the Charter !* and what may it not entail? The conferences on Greek affairs have been suspended for some days, but are going to begin again. It is all a business that is only fit to make children laugh. When will they get to the end of it?

* The *Charte Constitutionnelle* acknowledged by Louis XVIII., June, 1814.

By the way, and about Greece, have you read the article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*? The paper is making a great sensation. If you tell me you have not seen it, I will find means of sending it down to you. It is wonderfully well written, and no one knows whom to fix upon as the author. But whoever he be, he must be a man who is deeply initiated in public affairs.

The Emperor's health is now completely restored. The newspapers gave an excessively curtailed account of the accident which led to the relapse, and as this accident was really one of a most extraordinary nature, it may interest you to hear the details of it.

The Emperor had a cold, with fever sufficiently high to be keeping him in bed; the Empress was sitting beside him, and the children, with their governesses and nurses, were playing in the adjoining room, which is a large closet forming part of the Empress's apartments. All of a sudden they hear a noise as though the ceiling of the next room were falling in, and then fearful screams. The Emperor springs out of bed, rushes into the next room in his shirt, and what he sees is a huge vase, or, rather, a jar of porphyry, turned upside down, and all the people present crying out, 'Constantine! Constantine!' The little Grand-Duke Constantine, who is only two years old, had disappeared. Before men enough could be got together to lift up the enormous mass of the jar, many minutes had elapsed, during which you may imagine what an agony of suspense the Emperor and Empress must have experienced. At last the jar is raised, and below it they discover the little Grand-Duke safe and well, without having suffered in the

slightest degree. By a miracle of Providence, the diameter of the mouth of the vase was wide enough to have gone over him like a lid, and under it the child was found seated quite at his ease, and unharmed. The support on which the vase had stood had only been set up temporarily, and was of wood, awaiting the finishing of the porphyry pedestal. This wooden base had of a sudden given way on one side, and so the vase turned over upside-down. The result of the whole affair was that the Emperor, who had been bathed in perspiration when he jumped out of bed, was seized with a most violent attack of fever, and the shock to his nerves which the fright caused carried the inflammation to the head. Dating from that moment, and during several successive days, he was in the greatest danger. All this is a very long story, but really it was the most inconceivable accident that could have happened, and the child's safety is a real miracle.

The Duc de Laval has just been giving the world a wonderful proof of the nobility of his character. The Duc de Dino had been arrested here for debt, and thrown into prison. Montrond and the other French, with many of the diplomatists, went and besought Laval to obtain his release by means of an innocent piece of imposture, which, they say, has been sometimes resorted to, and which consists of this, that the Ambassador declares the debtor to be a member of his Embassy. The debtor in this case comes under the rule of international law—his person must not be seized.

Even Lord Aberdeen was so wrought upon by everybody's solicitations, that he urged Laval to make the declaration. But Laval's conscience could not

brook the lie ; still, his pride and patriotism being roused at the idea of the detention of a great French noble in a common gaol, he has made up his mind to pay down, in the name of the Duc de Dino, the £2,500 which was demanded for his release. This sum he will never get back, and the whole of his private fortune does not come up to thirty thousand francs a year.

Monday, the 21st.

I close this letter in all haste ; I am going up to London, and from thence down to Hatfield for a few days.

Adieu, my dear lord ; write to me frequently, and do not ever forget me.

Howick,

Dec. 24th, 1829.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 21st yesterday. I thought it rather long in coming, and intended to make you wait as long for an answer ; but I will not punish myself. I am glad that I have been able to satisfy you that my plan of remaining here is not so indefensible as you thought it. But why, you say, do I stand in so insulated a position ? A full answer to this question would go, as you admit, into a greater extent than is convenient in a letter. I will, therefore, only indicate the two chief causes—the King's inveteracy, and the total breaking up of the Whig Party in 1827. Your sagacity will easily discover the influence of these causes on the various knots of politicians into which what were once great parties are now divided—and on me. As to the Duke of Wellington, I find some diffi-

culty in answering what you say. The facts and presumptions I must acknowledge to be strongly on your side. But still I believe in his sincerity, at least thus far, and that he would, if he could do it without great difficulty, endeavour to obtain my co-operation. But I must admit that he does not appear to be either sufficiently desirous of it, or sufficiently convinced of its importance to the stability of his Administration, to risk a quarrel with the King on that account. Perhaps, too, he may estimate with less partiality, but with more accuracy than you do, the real value of my assistance.

I see by this morning's papers that the King had appointed to-day for receiving the Recorder's report. An odd ceremony for Christmas Eve! Is the Recorder sufficiently recovered to attend, or will it be necessary for Denman to go in his place? I think this must have been almost as difficult a point as that which respects me.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the details of the accident which caused the Emperor's danger, as the account in the papers appeared rather ridiculous. I cannot conceive anything more terrible than the suspense of the Emperor and Empress till the vase was removed, and am not at all surprised, in the state in which he was, that the Emperor should have suffered so much from it. The escape of the child was indeed miraculous. I have seen letters from Paris which represent the Liberals as apparently losing ground, from the violence of their papers, and which speak of the probability of Polignac's maintaining himself as being greater than it was. But I dare say your accounts are more correct.

It is a noble trait of scrupulous integrity and

generosity which you relate to me of the Duc de Laval. I have read the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. I had intended to ask you who was the author, but I find you know as little of him as I do. I had conjectured that the information, which he could only have had from the most authentic sources, and which it was obvious could not have been supplied to him by our Government, must have come to him either from your Embassy or from that of France. After what you say, I must conclude that it comes from the latter, and, if so, it indicates a feeling of no little hostility to the Duke of Wellington. Can this be from his favourite Polignac? The paper is a very clever one, but though it endeavours to gloss over the objections to the original measure of 1827, it leaves them, in my opinion, unanswered and undiminished. Perhaps I should rather say that I collect from it a strong confirmation of them. I think it equally unsuccessful in its attempted justification of the Battle of Navarino. But as to all that follows, I cannot but feel that a strong case is made out against our Ministers, which requires a better answer than any that I can imagine it to be in their power to give. This reminds me that you had some time ago asked me if I had read Gally Knight's pamphlet. I had forgot to answer you, and, in truth, the publication was hardly worth mentioning. It is just such a letter as I should wish an adversary to write. Its facts and its reasonings are equally bad. *You*, at least, *must* agree with me in this opinion, for you cannot allow the justification of our interference to rest solely on the alleged fact that you were the original instigators of the insurrection in Greece. . . .

Your next visit, I suppose, will be to Windsor, as I

see the King is at last actually gone, or going, to the Castle. If *honourable* mention is made of me, I shall expect to hear of it from you, under the assurance that it never will be repeated.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Dec. 28th, 1829.

I received your letter of the 24th at this place, my dear lord, and I write you from here my last letter of the old year. Shall I still see you during next year? This is a question that it is difficult for me to answer satisfactorily. I will make you my confidant of a matter that is much upon my mind. The present Government have taken umbrage at my intimacy with you, and the King is in a bad humour for the same cause. The Duke of Wellington would be very glad to be rid of us, and if I am correctly informed, he has already let his wishes on this point be known at Petersburg. Here, again, is one of those subjects on which I must beg you to keep silence, not only to others, but even when writing to me. I am not in a position to tell you all, but, at the same time, I cannot bear to conceal from you circumstances which I know will interest you, because they touch me so nearly. Hence I have spoken out to you, my dear lord—only do not answer me on this point. You cannot imagine with what avidity the Duke of Wellington swallows all the gossip they tell him about me. The informers, to keep up their credit, have to make their

stories interesting, and since my dignity will not allow me to make any justification, or even explanation—unless it be asked of me—the result is, the tale-bearers have it all their own way. It is a thousand pities great men take pleasure in such small things, and believe all that is told them.

I almost died of the cold at Hatfield. The Salisburys did nothing but talk to me of the comforts of Howick. The subject was badly chosen under existing circumstances. They ought either to have profited by the example, or else I ought to have found myself 300 miles from London instead of twenty only. Neither is this the sole motive that would have made me desirous of effecting the exchange.

The *Foreign Quarterly Review* article of which you speak is making the greatest noise in the world ; it is considered, as you say, a paper of the highest interest, and must have been written by a man of very great ability. The Government is ill content on the subject. By the way, in their eyes, it is we Russians who have written it, and they admit no word of doubt on the matter. In point of fact, I should be very curious to know who is the author ; my mind immediately jumped to the conclusion it was Stratford Canning. But they say this is not the case. What do you think of the severe criticisms most of the newspapers have published on the subject of the action for libel which the Duke of Wellington has been carrying through ?* It

* The Government prosecuted the *Morning Journal* for libels, said to be directed against the King, the Government, and the Duke of Wellington ; also for an allegation of corruption, said to refer to the Lord Chancellor (Lynchhurst). The private chaplain of the Duke of Cumberland avowed himself the author of the libels (see above, p. 297). The editor and printer of the newspaper were convicted, and punished by fine and imprisonment.

seems to me there is something more than what may be attributed to mere fellow-feeling in all they say. I think, however, that, as he came off victorious, the Duke had some reason in what he did.

Never before have I seen so long a period of such absolute quiet as that which has reigned during the last four weeks. Nothing is being done here at all; even the sittings of the conferences have been suspended. The last word is on the point of being said, and yet it is not actually spoken.

In France they appear to be asleep, too; and it is impossible for us to judge how matters are going with Polignac. All this calm, however, is very seasonable for the Christmas holiday-time. I gave my children their treat here, and my Christmas-trees,* all lighted up, amused the grown-up people as well as the children. We return to London, or rather to Richmond, for the first of the year.

Adieu, my dear lord. I beg you to believe that not all the anger in the world will prevent my continuing to regard you with affection, and even to write of it to you; but this anger does not augment my love in a certain other quarter.

Howick,

Jan. 1st, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I must in the first place, according to the good old custom, wish you a happy New Year, and many to come. My next duty is to thank you for your letter of the 28th from Panshanger, which I was prevented from answering on Thursday, and yesterday there was no

* The Russian usage is to have a separate tree for each child.

post to the South. . . . You ask what I think of the prosecutions for libel? I am not one of those who think the press is to be uncontrolled even in its license. It is a folly to say that attacks on one side may be met and repelled by similar fabrications on the other. But when a violent address to the passions has excited the mob to violence, or the assassins to murder, when property has been destroyed or blood has been spilt, it is a poor consolation to be told that the folly and infamy of the writings, which have produced these effects, have been exposed and punished. The question, therefore, with me only is, whether in the particular case there was a sufficient motive to forego that system of forbearance, from which only the clearest necessity would make me depart. Examining what has been done on this principle, I should say that the prosecution for the libel on the Chancellor was right and necessary ; but that I think, considering the character of those directed against the Duke of Wellington, he would have done better to treat them with contempt. Indeed, they were of such a nature that, if the fool—and, I consider, scoundrel—who defended himself had put his cause into the hands of a skilful and powerful advocate, a conviction might have been very doubtful. In this the Duke appears to have been favoured by his usual good fortune, though I question his deriving much advantage from it, as the press will make common cause against him. . . .

I have had a letter from Brougham, in which, to my great surprise, he gave me word for word Aberdeen's *naïve* reply to the remark which you had intended to apply to the Polignac Ministry. I have observed your injunction of secrecy most scrupulously ; but some other

person has not been equally discreet, and I am sorry for it ; as when it comes round it will increase the irritation, which I am too well aware exists in certain quarters against you. Many have never forgiven your warm support of Canning, and I often think that your kindness to me may be made use of in the same way, to excite the displeasure of the King. I have sometimes thought of this till I have almost convinced myself that I ought to relieve you from the *désagréments* to which you may be exposed. There is nothing so delightful to me as your correspondence ; but great as is the pleasure that it affords me, and great as the sacrifice of it would be, I am capable even of this, to avoid what might be attended with inconvenience to you. . . .

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Jan. 4th, 1830.

Your letter has not yet reached me, my dear lord, but I am tired of waiting, and so begin mine to you. First, I must wish you a happy New Year. I know not why, but this word *happy* has to me a sound of evil augury ; for I foresee nothing pleasant as likely to happen to me during the coming twelve months. Perhaps, though, for you it may be different ; in any case, accept all my best wishes for your happiness.

I came back from Panshanger on New Year's Day, and am to return there, I hope, on another visit before the month is out. . . .

Jan. 6th.

I took my letter up to London with me, in the hopes of being able to finish it there, but, as usual, my time was at everybody's disposal except my own.

The day I went in to town I dined at Lord Aberdeen's ; on coming out I must have caught a chill, and when I returned here yesterday I had to take to my bed. Such is my history, my dear lord, and this explains why my letter reaches you so tardily.

Meanwhile, your letter of the 1st reached me when in London, and, in spite of my present depression of spirits, I gratefully accept and thank you for the sympathy therein contained. My husband's remark, on hearing some parts of your letter read out, was that, in the proposal you make that we should give up corresponding, you were not yourself blind to the inconvenience which its continuance might entail on you. He said he imagined you might well apprehend some danger to yourself in remaining on terms of intimacy with one who, like me, is looked upon with so much suspicion and ill-will by the members of the present Administration. The observation was natural on his part, seeing that he did not read the letter which I had written to you from Panshanger. But you, without referring to this letter, have fully answered all its contents, and in a manner worthy of the friendship I know you bear me. You understand me but little, my dear lord, if you imagine me capable of accepting your offer. Shall I give up the only true friend I possess, and do so to please those who are certainly not my friends? Surely this would be baseness and folly combined.

I should have many important things to tell you

about, could we but meet for an hour's talk ; but with this lame correspondence by letter, it is impossible to do more than touch on a few facts, and leave out all commentary and discussion. Yet even here, and in regard to the following meagre hints, I must impose silence on you in your letters to me. This is all so very inconvenient, that it occurs to me to propose a remedy. When you may have anything very private to tell me, suppose you write it in a sealed note, addressed to Lady Cowper, and enclose this in my letter. I should understand for whom the note was intended, and by this stratagem you could answer as fully as you pleased the contents of my letters to you.

As you probably remember, it is to-morrow that the Ministers reassemble for the first time after the New Year. The conferences on Greece will be taken up with renewed energy ; but as regards any final settlement of the question, they have been so often on the point of concluding it all, and then concluded nothing, that I will offer no opinion as to time in the present state of the case.

The newspapers (and particularly the *Times* during the last few days) have very clearly indicated the candidate who seems to have the best chance. As you have long ago been made aware, Russia in this case has neither predilections nor antipathies. Her sole desire is to have the Greek Question definitely settled, and see a wise Prince in possession of the throne.

There is much to be said in favour of Prince Leopold, and I have no doubt that both his ambition and his interests would tend to make him a thoroughly

patriotic Greek, and nothing more. This would be all we should want. As, however, I have already told you, the whole affair is still in suspense, and apparently as far as ever from a final settlement.

The King is ill—an attack, I believe, of inflammation of the lungs. Lady Conyngham is recovering. Lady Jersey did the honours at the diplomatic dinner at Lord Aberdeen's, for his wife did not appear. Lord Jersey was not there either.

The affairs of France are now occupying the world in general, both in England and on the Continent. Those best informed as to the state of opinions and parties in that country fear that, unless Charles X. changes his Ministers before the meeting of the Chambers, he will see himself forced then to dismiss them, and accept in their place a Ministry chosen by the Chambers; further, they say that, should the King push matters to an extremity, and after dissolving the Chambers attempt to govern by means of *Ordonnances*, the whole country will rise in resistance, and the very existence of the monarchy be imperilled. Meanwhile, Polignac continues to declare that he is confident in himself, and in his power of weathering the storm.

Lord Aberdeen informs me that the Turks do nothing but dance, drink and rejoice, in honour of the peace. I allowed myself to observe to him that, this being so, it was ungracious to show any discontent at a treaty which so fully satisfied his ancient ally, the Turk.

. . . And now adieu, my dear lord. Let us keep up our correspondence, for it is the only solace we can enjoy at present. It would be far better if you could

come up to town—but this I know at present you will not do.

A thousand most friendly regards.

Howick,
Jan. 10th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 6th, and should have answered it immediately if I had not been occupied by some very disagreeable private business, which has tormented me very much—after all, my return is quicker than yours. France, undoubtedly, at this moment presents the subject of the greatest interest. To speculate upon the probabilities of what is passing there is, perhaps, as good an employment as any other, but a very uncertain and a very useless one. The greatest probability being that time, the developer of events, will overturn all our conjectures, by some result which we had not anticipated. To judge from the angry tone of the Liberal journals—for anger is no unfrequent indication of a failing cause—I should be inclined to believe that Polignac's confidence was not altogether groundless. I observe, too, that Delessert, the Liberal banker, is a bidder for the loan. Would he be so if he thought there was any danger of a serious struggle, or even that, without much struggle, the King was likely to be forced to submit to the formation of a Government out of his party?—for even this result would probably occasion a fall of the stocks. On the other hand, the bold character of Polignac, and the extreme violence of La Dauphine,* and the party to which he probably looks for his chief support, justify

* Maria Theresa, daughter of Louis XVI., and wife of Louis, Duc d'Angoulême.

the apprehension that the Government may resort to measures which would excite a violent resistance. Her answer to the congratulatory address of the President and Cour Royale, '*Sortons, messieurs!*' is strongly indicative of the character of her mind, and of the temper of the times. If the Ultra party proceed in this spirit, '*Sortons, messieurs!*' may be retorted on her family and herself.

But is there any real public spirit in France? Will all this violence, even if further excited, find a correspondent tone of feeling in the public, at the risk of a renewal of all the miseries of a revolution? Here I conclude in uncertainty and doubt, and I will not recur to this subject till after the meeting of the Chambers.

I see the papers are full of Prince Leopold's appointment to the sovereignty of Greece. I may not, perhaps, think this a very well-judged proposal on the part of this Government. It was certain, at least, to be very unpopular in France. But as to Leopold himself, he must, I think, have a great desire to figure as a King, and very little care for his own happiness and safety, to think of accepting such a station. Is it proposed with a view to some domestic arrangement here, which might silence the dissatisfaction of the Duke of Cumberland? I have heard nothing for a long time of that illustrious personage, except what I read in the papers, of his frequent visits to Windsor. Do you ever see him? How does it happen, if he is so much your friend, that the same disposition does not prevail at Windsor? I did not believe that you would accept the offer which I made you on this account. And yet it was not the less real and sincere. I have been long the object of a much more violent resentment, and

bear it with great indifference. Why it appears to have increased so much of late I do not know, but I feel very much at my ease, in the consciousness that it cannot hurt me. Perhaps a time may come when it may be wished that the same thing could be said with respect to me. Poor Sir Thomas Lawrence ! I have just read the account of his death in the papers, which appears rather mysterious. He is a great loss to the art, and I regret him personally.

Oh, what a stupid letter !

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Jan. 13th, 1830.

I received your letter of the 10th yesterday, my dear lord ; but since I last wrote to you I have been very unwell. . . . I am living quite alone here at Richmond, and am confined to my room. My husband also is ill, but in London, being detained there by business. I am shut in by the snow, and my only resource lies in my books, and an occasional visit from the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland.

I have been writing of late, which is more than I have done for a long time past. I am filling a large manuscript-book with my memoirs, with a view of ultimately leaving them to my eldest son. Pray do not laugh at me. Indeed, I could not resist the temptation of arranging some notes I had jotted down from time to time, which, I think, will throw light on some of the important events that have occurred during the past few years. My notes, will, perhaps, explain the case

even more fully than writings of a far higher order than any to which I can aspire, and, after all, supposing I am mistaken in the matter of the importance I attach to my compositions, I certainly am not mistaken in regard to the pleasure which I am now deriving from thus setting my papers in order ; and this is sufficient to make me persevere in the occupation so long as I have nothing better to do.

The King has been very ill ; they took 105 ounces of blood from him in one day. He is now said to be convalescent. The Duke of Cumberland goes frequently to Windsor ; but do not imagine that I know anything at all of what takes place there, for no one can be more discreet than is the Duke of C. with regard to all that passes between him and his brother. The ill-will of the Duke against the present Ministers remains unchanged ; but it does not appear to me of any consequence as far as they are concerned. This for the simple reason that, at present, it is impossible to point to any who would be able to occupy their places. The Ministers have many against them ; indeed, I think they would have some difficulty in saying who there was truly on their side. But they will still be able to keep their places, and they have good reason for light-heartedness, seeing the absolute want of cohesion among all the parties which go to make up the Opposition.

I think the world singularly misjudges Prince Leopold, if it imagines he merely *accepts* the sovereignty of Greece. *Accept* is not the word. He has coveted the crown, and worked to gain his end for long, long past. On January 4, 1828, I made a bet with my husband that Leopold was working to get Greece.

Would not he, the craftiest of men, be astonished to hear this of me? And yet such is the fact. I wormed the secret out of him that very 4th of January, when we had been paying him a visit at Claremont, and he and I had a conversation together as to the probability of Russia's declaring war against Turkey. Leopold, in all probability, will now be the Sovereign—not King—of Greece; and this entirely thanks to his unaided efforts and his own cleverness. There is nothing like pale, thin people; I place no belief in the ambition of fat cheeks.

What do you think, my dear lord, of those insolent articles in the *Times*, written against the King? This paper has the well-earned reputation of always taking the side of the Government. At least, it writes in the Government interest; and some articles, of which I am in a position to form a judgment, are evidently inspired from official sources. How, then, can you explain their attacks on the King?

I am quite ashamed of my poor letter, but I have really nothing more to tell you about, and no news, so I leave you in peace.

Adieu, my dear lord; but do not pray forget me.

Howick,

Jan. 19th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 13th, and am very sorry to hear that you have been so ill. Colds are not to be neglected at this season; they often lay the foundation of very serious complaints. But yours, you assure me, was getting better. Here we defy

everything of the sort, and hug ourselves by our comfortable fires, when we read of the severity of the cold in the South. Lady Keith and Lord Ponsonby send me the same accounts from Paris, where they say it is hardly possible to exist. Their letters amuse me. They are black and white, Lady Keith assuring me that the Liberals feel no national hatred to us, that it is directed only against our Ministers, and that the Polignac Administration cannot exist an hour after the meeting of the Chambers; Lord Ponsonby, that the Government, chiefly owing to the violence of their opponents, is gaining strength; that it will stand; and that the enmity of the Liberals, not only to our Ministers, but to England as a nation, is so bitter and so inveterate that, if they should obtain possession of the Government, we should be at war before the end of the year. So it is that two very clever people form their views from their own feelings, and from the opinions of the parties with which they associate. Lady Keith's letter is long and full, and so admirably written that I wish I could show it to you. I wish I could depend upon her opinion; I am sure it is sincere; but you know how strong her feelings are on the side she takes; and I cannot quite believe in her representation of the moderate views of the Liberal Party. My own feelings would naturally be on that side, but my first objects must be England and peace. If I could have security for these, I should not hesitate. By the way, Lord Ponsonby seems to have fallen in love with Pozzo, but it is not from him, I should think, that he gets his politics. How I should like to see your memoirs. I think you ought to show them to me. The occupation, to a person who knows so much, and

writes so well as you do, and with so much facility, must be delightful. It is, besides, extremely useful, in preserving an accurate recollection of what is passed. I often regret not having kept a record of this kind ; but it is now too late to begin.

The sort of attack which the King has had shows how little dependence is to be placed on the best state of his health. A hundred ounces of blood is no joke at his age. One of these fine days you will hear of an effusion of water on the chest, and he will probably go off in the same way as the poor Duke of York. Is it not very extraordinary how everything relating to Windsor, that it would be unpleasant for him to see, is kept out of all the papers—even those who show no good-will towards him ? I should like to know what is paid for this. I think I see the hand of my friend in the stipulation that Leopold is to be *Sovereign* of Greece and not *King*—the title of Majesty would have been too much. Oh, what little minds are to be found in high places ! As to Leopold himself, what you say of his character exactly corresponds with my own observation. If it is true that the Greeks themselves, and Capo d'Istria, wish for him, it is a great weight in his favour. Besides, he has this recommendation, that he is already an accomplished Greek. For the rest, I think as I did of the folly of his wishing for this situation. But there is no disputing about tastes. You have high authority for your opinion about *les pâles et les maigres*. Shakespeare makes Cæsar say :

‘ Let me have men about me that are fat ;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o’ nights ;
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look ;
He thinks too much ; such men are dangerous.’

And yet I have known a good deal of ambition in my life masked by *les belles joues*. But I believe in your general maxim.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Jan. 20th, 1830.

Your letter has been so long in reaching me, my dear lord, that I had begun to fear that you also were ill. This morning, however, I was rejoiced to find that you could snap your fingers at the snow, and coughs and colds. My cold is much better, but the snow continues here. It is deplorable, for it gives me no chance of setting foot out of doors.

I imagine that you have heard the news which is going the round of the gossips, namely, of a quarrel between the King and his Ministers. What is certainly true is that the King has peremptorily refused to hear of Leopold being named Sovereign of Greece. Now, it is equally certain that the Ministers had brought their negotiations with regard to Leopold almost to a conclusion before they said a word about the Prince to the King; and the latter, consequently, and very naturally, deems himself insulted by this want of deference to his wishes in the matter.

Such are the facts. Which of the two will now give way—the King or the Ministers—is the question in everyone's mouth. The three great Powers had agreed to the choice. If Leopold is not to be Sovereign, the foreign Cabinets will learn that the Duke of Wellington has found his master. The regrettable part of

the business is this continued delay in the settlement of what is becoming an interminable question. It is a great inconvenience to the whole of Europe, and, indeed, is getting to be more than an inconvenience. There has never been a question of the future Sovereign of Greece bearing the title of *King*. All that I have written to you above must be in strict confidence, my dear lord. Pray do not betray me. For though all the world knows of the quarrel, it knows nothing of the details, and certainly it is not for me to be the means of publishing them.

I assure you, that in spite of the snow and the frost, and my solitude, I shall much regret Richmond. The more I think of it, the more sure am I that originally an obscure position was what would have suited me best — as I said before, a *curé*, and fourteen or fifteen children, and a little cottage. Heavens, how happy I should have been! It is true that you would have lost a correspondent, for to my present brief experience of living out of the world is due the fact that I have nothing of news to tell you in this letter, and hence that you will find it both short and stupid.

Things will improve to-morrow, for I am going up to settle in London.

Adieu, my dear lord. What shall I do with my time between two and three o'clock?

Believe me, I shall be very dull.

Howick,
Jan, 23rd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Of nothing, nothing can come. This would be almost a sufficient answer to the letter which I

received from you yesterday. You tell me nothing, you give me nothing to answer, and your excuse is the solitude and retirement of Richmond. How much more valid must the same excuse be from the depths of Northumberland! Yet the pleasure of conversing with you, even in this miserable way, is so great that even out of nothing I must endeavour to find the means of filling a small sheet of paper.

I hear, from an authority which cannot be in error, that the King's opposition to Leopold's appointment was most vehement, probably instigated by the Duke of Cumberland. From the same authority I learn, by a letter received at the same time with yours, that he has given way, as was to be expected. On which I can only say that a King, who announces and proclaims objections to a measure which he finds himself ultimately unable to resist, consults very ill the dignity and character of his station. For the rest, it neither surprises nor disappoints me, and it is a good thing to have this interminable question at last settled.

Mr. Liddell* has put himself forward very foolishly, I think, and very presumptuously, considering his situation, in calling upon this county to petition on the subject of the general distress; his object, according to his advertisement, being more immediately the repeal of what is called Mr. Peel's Bill, to which he ascribes the greater part of the present suffering. This is rather curious, considering the absolute devotion of the Ravensworths to the Court. I shall take no part in it.

I am delighted with your longings for a retirement in the country. How I should like to be the *curé*!

* Mr. H. T. Liddell was M.P. for Northumberland.

But don't you think such a place as this might answer better than a small parsonage? A little more space, a little more occupation, a little more comfort, would not diminish the pleasures of solitude. But could you have borne it? I should have trembled for the result, if I could have induced you to make the experiment. It might have been more likely to succeed if you could have tried it with either of the Metternichs, first or second. Besides, it is probable that either of them would, upon the first temptation of some political event, have been as ready to give it up as you.

I hear much of various parties preparing to take the field at the opening of the Session. Amongst others, one in direct and active opposition, led by Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston. Of this *you must* know a great deal; and I shall know what to think if you don't tell me what you know. Indeed, as you are now in London, I shall expect to hear a great deal of news of all kinds; if not, you must expect nothing from me but letters as stupid as this. Pray give the enclosed to *Lady Cowper*.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

[ENCLOSURE.]—*The Countess Cowper*.

I have nothing to tell you, but I must avail myself of your permission to ask a question which interests me above all others. Have you heard anything more of the attempt to get you removed from hence? I cannot bear to think of such a possibility, and yet I conceived a fear of it from the moment that I heard of the partiality shown by the D. of W. to

Matuscewitz. Is the latter capable of endeavouring to get this place for himself?

Do you know, too, that I feel some restraint in writing, since I find that my letters are seen by the Prince? Yours are never seen by anybody, nor do I always mention even that I have heard from you. There need, therefore, be no restraint in anything you write, except that which you choose to impose upon yourself. Do not let a more agreeable visitor between two and three (Montmorency,* for instance) banish me entirely from your recollection. It would be very ungrateful, *car je suis tout à vous, de cœur et d'âme.*

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Jan. 25th, 1830.

Very many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 23rd. I must hasten to give you my reasons for requesting so many precautions on your part when writing to me, or, rather, when answering certain paragraphs in my letters to you. As a general rule, I do not show my husband the letters I receive; but I have never as yet refused to read out to him any of them when he has asked me to do so. The precautions I have requested you to observe are merely a piece of extra prudence on my part, for, remembering that my husband knows you so much less intimately than I do, he might not unnaturally tax me, on occasions, with indiscretion, were he to know of all the secrets I confide to you. It is in order to avoid small embarrassments of this nature that I call your attention,

* The Duc de Laval.

by means of my brackets, to those paragraphs in my letters which, were you to reply to them, might elicit unpleasant observations in the case of my husband's reading your answers. For all extraordinary occasions, the little ruse agreed upon between us will serve its purpose.

I now come to the question you write of to me in your enclosure. We have positive information that the Duke of Wellington has asked for my husband's recall ; but I do not for a moment believe that Matuscewitz has had anything to do with this intrigue. He is too straightforward and honest a man for that. I will go further, and add that he is too well acquainted with the quarter in which the wind sets in our country, not to know that Prince Lieven's recall, even were it to take place, could in no wise profit him. Hence he can have no personal interest in the matter. Count Nesselrode's answer to the application sent to Russia by the Duke reached London about six weeks ago in our ordinary bag, enclosed to my husband, who forwarded it on to his Grace. The letter was of course sealed, and our Cabinet did not say a word as to its contents in the despatches to my husband. In this latter point the requirements of tact and good taste have both been consulted ; while at the same time it was due to my husband that the letter should be forwarded through his hands. There can be little doubt, however, that the answer was of a very discouraging nature to the Duke of Wellington's request. I say this because, in the first place, my husband has never enjoyed greater favour with the Emperor than he does at the present moment ; and secondly, because I have heard it reported that the Duke of Wellington

said, speaking of my husband and myself: 'It is beneath my dignity for me to make victims of such people as they are.'*

The grapes are sour, as the fox says in the fable. What is fact, however, is the following: During the discussions on the Greek Question, and when the King had ordered Lord Aberdeen to bring forward and support a new candidate for the throne in the person of the brother of the Duchess of Cumberland,† that Minister, who for his own reasons was opposed to the new candidate, informed the King that it was impossible to carry out his Majesty's orders, because of Prince Lieven's determined opposition, adding that the Russian Ambassador was the ardent supporter of the claims of (the Austrian) Prince Philip of Homburg to be the future Sovereign of Greece. Now, can you imagine a more preposterous falsehood?

Aberdeen, in point of fact, had *never said one word* to my husband on the subject of what were the King's wishes; in the second place, as you well know, Russia has never taken the responsibility of naming or favouring any particular candidate; and thirdly, were we to choose, we should not certainly look among the officers of the army under Prince Metternich's orders to find our candidate for the throne of Greece.‡ When, however, Aberdeen made the above-mentioned statement to the King, his Majesty burst out into a fit of passion, and began inveighing against my husband. Thereupon, Aberdeen, enchanted with finding so good an oppor-

* The words in the original are: 'Je suis trop grand pour faire de ces gueux (mon mari et moi) mes victimes.'

† The Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

‡ Prince Philip was brother of the Landgrave Louis of Hesse-Homburg. He held the rank of Feldzeugmeister in the Austrian army.

tunity, took advantage of it to tell the King that M. de L. was really a very disagreeable person; that he considered both the husband and the wife 'much too deep,'* and that it was 'very desirable that they should be recalled.' To all of which the King said *Amen*. Whether it was in consequence of the above that the late communications were entered into with my Court, I really do not know. This, however, I do know, that the details I have just given you are exact, and that my husband has informed his master of the incident. I can tell you nothing further.

Meanwhile, matters of greater importance are going on well. My husband has been able to achieve in the interest of Greece all that he had ever wished to see done. In a few days we shall have Greece declared independent, with satisfactory boundaries (and they are those you proposed, my dear lord), and a Sovereign (Leopold) on whom we looked with favour from the very beginning, because we knew that he was sufficiently alive to his own interests to see that he could not get on without Capo d'Istria. Now, Capo d'Istria is the most patriotic of Greeks, in addition to being a most enlightened and honest man; consequently, his counsels will be of the greatest importance to the new Sovereign. Metternich, it is said, would have taken him for his Prime Minister, had he (Metternich) been named Sovereign of Greece. On the whole, then, this matter is now well settled, and certainly we have no reason to complain of what your Government has done. Nobody could have been more offensive in words, and less offensive in action, than were your Ministers. And I repeat, we are per-

* These words are written in English by the Princess.

fectly satisfied. At the same time, as perhaps it would not please them so well to know this, I must again rely on your discretion even with respect to what I have said in their favour. The King, as you know very well, has been obliged to swallow down his rage and give up his opposition to Leopold. He is too much personally afraid of the Duke of Wellington to be able to oppose his will.

I was just going to write to ask you about these county meetings and the distress in the country, when I see that this subject has been treated by you in a speech at a meeting convoked by Mr. Liddell. What does it all mean? Is there real distress in the country? I must confess that I have difficulty in giving credit to these complaints, seeing the apparent prosperity of England and the luxury in which everybody lives. Still, the clamour rises on all sides.

I honestly tell you that it is impossible for me to answer your questions about Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston. Judging from their antecedents it seems natural enough that they should take part with the opponents of the Government. But will there really be an Opposition? Are they sufficiently united—sufficiently determined? It appears to me more than doubtful. I would wager that no one of the party yet knows on which side he will ultimately find himself, and this is, in my opinion, what really makes the present Government so strong. The death of the old Queen of Portugal* is no unfortunate event. The poor Portuguese must really be thankful.

My dear lord, London appears to me quite intoler-

* Queen Charlotte, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, and wife of John VI. of Portugal. She was sister of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, and mother of Don Miguel and Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil.

ably dull now. I could doubtless get someone to come and see me from two to three o'clock every day, but no one could take your place. With regard to M. de Montmorency, you may judge how far he interests me when I tell you that I spend all my time in endeavouring to mystify him. He amuses me, and that is all. He is a most curious creature, being at the same time both silly and astute, trifling and pedantic. All this in one and the same individual is, you will admit, diverting. He would split any number of hairs, and all to no purpose.

There is nobody yet in town. I shall give myself the pleasure of inviting the whole Cabinet to dinner some time before Parliament meets. It is natural that we should make the advance, as a little amiable malice on our part. Adieu, my dear lord. This is a long letter. You may depend upon my sending you any news that may reach me, but I cannot invent more than I know.

Pray write soon to me in return.

Howick,

Jan. 29th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I should have answered your long, kind, and most agreeable letter by the returning post, but that I received at the same time the melancholy account of poor Tierney's death,* which quite overwhelmed me.

* Mr. George Tierney sank back in his chair and expired suddenly January 25. Born in 1756, he was for many years member for Southampton, and became one of Pitt's most formidable opponents. He was Treasurer of the Navy in 1802, under Addington; President of the Board of Control, under Grenville, in 1806; and appointed Master of the Mint by Canning, from which post he had retired in 1828. Between 1816 and 1821, Mr. Tierney had nominally acted as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

He was one of my oldest friends, and almost the only one remaining of those with whom I was connected on my setting out in public life. There never has been any interruption of our mutual regard, though some divergence in our political feelings and conduct on one or two occasions, and more particularly at the period of his joining the Administration under Canning. But I can think of nothing now but his many amiable and valuable qualities, which render his loss irreparable. The manner of his death, though at the moment the shock was unexpected and astounding, from the previous state of his health, does not upon reflection create much surprise. Is it not better, when one's hour arrives, that the blow should come in this manner? Is it not ten times to be preferred to the slow, painful, and afflicting misery of a death-bed—but why should I dwell on this melancholy subject?

I am writing between two and three, but how impossible it is for me to supply by letter the free and unreserved communication which my usual visit at this hour might afford me. . . . You ask whether there is any real distress? That the violent Tories endeavour to make the most of it is certain. But be assured that, when you hear such general complaints from all parts of the country, there must be some cause for them. The truth is, that the distress is so general and so intense, the remedies so difficult, and this Administration so weak in its general composition, that, notwithstanding the personal power and influence of the Duke, I begin to doubt their being able to encounter the storm that is collecting about them. I think I never saw symptoms so alarming, and if all experience be not a lie, it is impossible that, from such a state of

things, adversaries should not arise, out of whom a formidable Opposition may be created. Your remark is true that the best security of the Ministry exists in the disunion of those who wish to see it overturned. Many of them, however, have a still stronger wish—that of providing for their own interests; and such persons will avoid, till the last moment, a declared hostility, which would cut off the possibility of making advantageous terms, if an opportunity should offer, with the present Government. With this disposition prevailing amongst so many, we must expect, at least, to see some of them transferred to the Ministerial ranks. Lord Chandos, if report is to be believed, has already taken that course. But, making every allowance for defections of this kind, I think it impossible that, with the feeling now rising in the country, there should not arise out of the various parties existing in Parliament some new combination, which the Duke of Wellington may find more formidable than any that he has hitherto had to encounter. When I say this, I am speaking very much against my wishes, for what I desire most is, that the present men should take such measures as should enable me to give them my support. In such a state of things the meeting of Parliament must excite an anxious curiosity. I shall look to you for frequent accounts of all you hear and all you observe. Of all the news you could send me, the most agreeable would be that, your peace with the Porte being established, and the Greek affair satisfactorily settled, the awkward and unpleasant footing on which you have been for some time with the Ministers had been succeeded by a complete good understanding between you.

What is this story about the Duke of Cumberland* and Lady Graves?

Lord Mountcharles's resignation† will, I suppose, cause a good deal of speculation. I hear Denison says that it was only occasioned by his disliking the attendance in Parliament, and his attachment to Lord Anglesey, and that people who look for any further motive will deceive themselves.

I am very stupid, so good-bye, dearest Princess.

Ever your most attached,

GREY.

P.S.—I have heard *something of Aberdeen that makes me very angry*, but I cannot say more at present.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Tuesday, Feb. 2nd, 1830.

Many, many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 29th. My time has been so interrupted by illness that I have hitherto been unable to get a moment in which to answer you, though, believe me, I have long been wishing to resume my pleasant correspondence. All you write helps greatly in enabling me to draw just conclusions on the events I see passing before my eyes. For, since you have become to me as the Law and the Prophets, I always wait for your opinion before forming my own on what I see and hear. You tell me that matters are taking a serious turn, and the reports I hear on all sides entirely con-

* Lord Graves was Comptroller of the Duke of Cumberland's household; the Duke was accused of an intrigue with Lady Graves.

† He was one of the Junior Lords of the Treasury.

firm your judgment on this point. Meanwhile it is evident that the Ministers are trying to get recruits anywhere and everywhere. This shows wisdom on their part, both for the gain it will bring to them, and the loss that will accrue to the others; and it is more important, perhaps, with respect to the latter than to the former consideration. For instance, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, who, I think, was considered a Canningite, is now making a breach in the ranks of his party; though I do not know whether he will be any great acquisition to the Government. We hear nothing further at present about Lord Chandos.

The Ministers all appeared radiant when they were dining with me the day before yesterday. The Duke of Wellington was superb, and he played his part like a consummate actor that he is; for really, not only might it have been supposed from his manner that he adored me, but a spectator would further have concluded that we were living, the two of us, on terms of almost domestic intimacy. Well, at the time, I, of course, took my cue from him; but, none the less, I reserve to myself the right of appearing in a different character should the scenes change.

They are all going to Windsor for a Council to-day, and afterwards dine and sleep at the Castle. They are all a happy family now. The King seems devoted to them, and, as far as appearances go, they have it all their own way. The Duke of Cumberland is ill, conquered, and completely put to the rout.

The Protocol* is not yet signed. When I wrote to you last, it was to have been signed that very day. New difficulties, however, were raised upon points

* For settling the Government of Greece.

that had already been agreed upon as settled between the three Powers. These obstacles have been raised neither by France nor by Russia. It would be difficult, I would even add impossible, to find a Cabinet whose word is less to be depended upon than the present one. They are a perfect set of Jews. But we must accept and treat people as we find them. Ah! my dear lord, what a man this Aberdeen is! How your high sense of honour would be revolted by what is going on here in London. . . . With the exception of the Ministers I have seen no one; I think people are only now beginning to come into town. If I feel better I shall have an *At home* to-morrow evening. Lord Rosslyn appears to be very much pleased with himself and quite triumphant. I always had doubts with regard to his cleverness—now I have none—for he has shown a complete lack thereof. And now good-bye, my dear lord; this is all that I have been able to write—interrupted, as I have been, throughout by fits of coughing. Pray write often to me. I can well understand how the death of Tierney must have affected you. He was a Parliamentary celebrity of the good old school, which was the good school of the old days of your Parliamentary history. Indeed, times have sadly changed. Once more, good-bye. My only dissipation is afforded me by your letters, as also my only pleasure, for heaven knows that London will be dull enough, if I were an Englishwoman, to make me wish to hang myself. I have just heard that the Duke of Devonshire has offered Mr. Brougham the borough for which Tierney sat;*, further,

* Knaresborough. Mr. Brougham was at this time sitting for Winchelsea as Lord Cleveland's nominee, which seat he resigned.

that Brougham has accepted it, and has announced the fact to Lord Cleveland. The news is, I believe, exact as I state it.

Good-bye.

Howick,
Feb. 5th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter yesterday. It was short but sweet. Though it gives me little to answer, I should have much to say to you, if we could meet ; but how is it possible in a letter to explain what is passing in my mind on the various subjects that naturally occupy it at this moment ? One confidence, however, I cannot withhold from you. I begin more than to suspect that your estimate of certain persons and characters has been more accurate than mine. I can guess how the reconciliation at Windsor has been produced. You have only to look back at the influencing motives of the King's conduct, on similar occasions, to understand it at once. He has been more constant and persevering in his enmity to me than to any other person. It is only those who injure who cannot forgive. But Princes can forget the injuries they inflict, as well as the offences they receive when their interest requires it, and you need not despair of yet seeing even me restored to favour. I received, by the same post with your letter, a full statement from Brougham of what had passed with respect to the change of his seat. I think he has done right. But it will be taken as an unequivocal symptom of hostility to the Government, and though he does not himself mean that it should be so understood, and professes the same feelings that I

do, with respect to the Duke of Wellington—*i.e.*, a sincere wish to support him if *we can*—I know the character of his mind and temper too well to suppose that he will long remain quiet. And then, the Lord have mercy on poor Peel!

I have myself been engaged in a similar correspondence with Lord Cleveland. He wrote to apprise me of his intention to give a direct and avowed support to the Government, which he motived oddly enough by stating that he no longer had any hope that his earnest wish to see me forming part of it could be fulfilled; and he desired to know my opinion and Howick's.* My answer was that, composed as the Ministry now is, though I feel the best disposition towards the Duke of Wellington, it was impossible for me to promise more than 'a friendly though, perhaps, a somewhat distrustful neutrality;' that I should, therefore, continue in my old place, to support or oppose the measures of the Government, according to their merits and my own sense of public duty; that I should use no influence over Howick, leaving him to act for himself, but that I had no doubt his conduct would be the same as mine, and that if he should be led to take a part which might detract from the full and efficient support which it was his (Lord C.'s) wish to give to the Administration, Howick's seat would be immediately at his disposal. Howick answered to the same effect; and so matters stand, at present, between us. This is no secret, as I have written to such of my friends as had a right to expect that it should be communicated to them; but

* Lord Cleveland had up to this time been a zealous Whig. He had brought Brougham into Parliament for Winchelsea, and the other seat in the same borough had been given to Lord Howick. In the event, Lord Howick did not resign his seat for Winchelsea till the following year.

pray do not say that I have written it to *you*. Well, what do you say to all this? Do you think it promises no *adversaries* in the Session that is now commenced?

In a conversation not long ago, I hear that the Chancellor,* in discussing the probability of an Opposition, said: 'But who are the Opposition?' Rogers answered: 'Everybody not connected with the Government.' This is not a very exaggerated account of the present state of parties.

You are merely laughing at me, when you say that you wait for my opinions to form yours. You who are on the spot to hear and know everything, and I at the bottom of Northumberland, seeing nobody but my own family, which Fox used to say always made a man grow foolish. No more of this, if you please, but write to me very fully all the information which you are so well qualified to obtain and to communicate, and be content with receiving, in return, my flat observations, which it will require all your indulgence to endure. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

* Lord Lyndhurst.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRINCE LEOPOLD AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GREECE.

The Meeting of Parliament—The Debate on the Address—Prince Leopold and the Sovereignty of Greece—Opposition of the English Government—Suicide of Lord Graves; the Duke of Cumberland—Weakness of the Government—Prince Leopold's Demand for Candia—Lord Holland's Motion on the Affairs of Greece—Lord Grey's Frontiers—Mr. Frankland Lewis and the Treasurership of the Navy—The Duke of Wellington's Remarks on the Russian War—Difficulties of Prince Leopold's Position—The *Times* and the Position of Parties—Lord Howick's Speeches—The State of France—Objections of the Ministers to Prince Leopold—The Duke of Devonshire and the Chamberlainship—Position of M. de Palmella; his Pecuniary Embarrassments—The Debate on Portugal—Prince Leopold's Acceptance of the Sovereignty of Greece—Lord Melbourne's Speech on Portugal—The Duke of Cumberland's Illness—Details of Prince Leopold's Final Acceptance—The Czar's Remarks to Count Matuscewitz about Lord Grey—The Treasurership of the Navy—Miss Kemble—Lord Rosslyn and the Privy Seal—The Turkish Ambassadors to the Czar—George IV.'s Aversion to Prince Leopold as Sovereign of Greece—Charles X.'s Speech at the Opening of the Chambers—The French Expedition against Algiers—Lady Canning's Pamphlet—Prince Leopold's Journey to Paris—Illness of George IV.—Prince Leopold's Difficulties—M. de Villèle to be Re-appointed Premier—Lord Ellenborough's Divorce, and the Scandalous Reports—The Duke of Buckingham—M. de Palmella's Arrival at Terceira—The Quiet preceding the Storm in France—The grave State of the King's Health—Lord Grey's Arrival in London.

[Parliament met Thursday, February 4, and the King's Speech, delivered by Commission, after an allusion to the Peace of Adrianople and the continuance of the commotions in Portugal, proceeded to mention the distress among the agricultural and manufacturing classes at home, and the hope of the Government that considerable reductions of expenditure might take place without injury to the public service. The debates on the Address, which followed, turned on the point whether the distress, which all admitted to be intolerable, was general and universal or only partial. Sir E. Knatchbull's amendment, that the distress was *not* partial, the Government defeated by only fifty-three votes.]

To Earl Grey.

London,

Feb. 9th, 1830.

I had wished, my dear lord, to have answered your letter of the 5th yesterday, but could not find one moment for doing so. How I regret my quiet mornings at Richmond! Many things have happened since I last wrote to you.

The session has had a truly strange beginning. I must admit that you guessed very correctly what would take place; but it is very difficult to foresee what may be the consequences which are to follow. Everyone agrees in saying that the Ministry has only been saved from a complete defeat by aid of Mr. Brougham's speech of Thursday last. Their supporters on that occasion were found principally among the Democrats, but the acceptance of these as allies appears to me neither a respectable nor a reliable method of giving the Tory party strength. The general opinion still is, that in every case some change in the Administration is urgent.

There is general curiosity, however, to know to which side the Government will now turn for recruits. Even the *Times* shows signs of veering, doubtless in view of coming events, and so it must be true that the wind is changing.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Wellington appears, as usual, full of strength, and confident in his power of weathering the storm.

The Protocol on Greece was signed as far back as the 3rd, but we have no Sovereign nominated as yet. Prince Leopold shows much distrust in the matter of the limited extent at present awarded to the new

State, and the inherent weakness of the proposed frontiers.

He more than doubts the goodwill of your Government in his behalf, and, as matters at present stand, hesitates at accepting the responsibilities of the high position offered him. It would seem difficult to gainsay the validity of his objections ; and certainly could he, by delaying his acceptance, succeed in obtaining more advantageous conditions for the new State of Greece, his procrastination would be more than justified, and he would have acted concordantly with both public justice and his private interests. None the less, however, the present suspense is most embarrassing. By rights, the stipulations of the Protocol should come into immediate effect, but this, of course, is an impossibility, until it be definitively settled who is to be Sovereign of Greece. Both my husband and the British Government are doing all in their power to urge Leopold promptly to make up his mind one way or the other. I imagine, however, that he will allow himself to be but little moved by their importunities.

As to certain points, he has thoroughly made up his mind, and is not to be cajoled. Between ourselves, I may tell you that one of his main objects had been the acquisition for Greece of Candia. Since this has been denied him as impossible, he now makes it a *sine quâ non* that the Powers should put a stop to the civil war, and the attendant massacres which are at present devastating that island. Without some binding promise to this effect, he will most assuredly refuse acceptance of the sovereignty.

In a word, it is his wish to land in Greece in the character of benefactor to the Greeks, and as the bearer

of a boon which his new subjects will recognise as due entirely to his personal efforts. Except under favourable conditions such as these, he will refuse the crown of Greece, for he knows but too well that the very fact of his being the nominee of England will cause his sovereignty to be looked upon with suspicion, by a nation that has already had such good cause to reckon the present Government of England as its enemy.

He has expressed great regret to me at your absence from town ; he would have been so glad to have had recourse to your experience and advice. I really do not know who are his present advisers, but never have I seen a man more perplexed and anxious than he ; indeed, he has aged most remarkably within the last few weeks. We earnestly hope that his Yes or his No may be given within the course of the next two or three days.

The dreadful catastrophe of Lord Graves' death* is the subject of general comment and horror. You may imagine what a handle it gives to the opponents of the Duke of Cumberland, and how they are turning it to account against him. It is really difficult to decide what is true and what is false in the beginning of the story, but even if it be all true, you must admit that the Duke has had very bad luck in coming across a husband who goes and cuts his throat for a matter of this kind. Why did he not get a separation, or turn his wife out of doors ? why did he not call out the Duke of C. ?—anything, in fact, rather than this horrible suicide. They say that he was driven to it by seeing a caricature in the street, and reading an article in the Sunday paper, in which it was stated that he

* He died by his own hand, Sunday, February 7.

had accepted money to keep silence. Such a tragedy makes one shudder.

I am getting a little better in health since the snow has disappeared, but one might imagine I had been born in Naples.

There are very few people in London as yet—hardly any ladies. I have not seen Lord Howick. I invited him to dinner, but he refused.

The news bruited about this morning is, that the Duke of Wellington is making proposals to the Marquis of Lansdowne. I only mention this to show you that something is in the wind.

Adieu, my dear lord.

What do you say to the affair of Lord Ellenborough; that is to say, his letter to Sir J. Malcolm? It is generally thought that there will be a difficulty in his staying on in the Government, after what he has done.

A thousand thanks for your letter. Indeed, I ought to have begun by saying this. Really Lord Cleveland's reason for supporting Government would read well in a farce on the stage.

I am being sent for, my dear lord; someone has called, and, as it is just post-hour, I close my letter hurriedly, but with many affectionate regards.

Howick,

Feb. 12th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 9th. The discussion and division (in the House of Commons) on the Address were indeed most extraordinary. I was

quite prepared to expect such an occurrence, but not on such an occasion. Who, indeed, could have foreseen that the Minister would give to his adversary such an advantage? In any other times one would have said that such a state of things could not continue, that changes in the Administration must take place, and those changes not inconsiderable. But now things which once were thought impossible seem to be matters of daily occurrence, and to excite no more wonder than a passing cloud. After all, however, the fact is proved to the world that this Administration exists, not by its own internal strength, nor by the support of public confidence, but by the disunion of those who are its enemies. It exists, therefore, exposed to an accidental agreement at any moment, which (as on the Address, if twenty-six Whigs had not voted with the Minister) may prove fatal to them. On Ellenborough's letter there can be but one opinion.* It proves him to be utterly unfit to hold any high situation of trust and power.

There surely never was a more horrible event than this of poor Lord Graves' death. Your remarks upon it appear to me very just. But the horror of the catastrophe, and the Duke of C.'s general character, will make it difficult for him to get over it. His best chance is in the violence of those who are endeavouring to excite the popular feeling against him. The manner in which this matter has been taken up and commented upon in the *Times* must disgust everybody who has any right feelings.

* Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, had written what was intended as a private letter to Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay. The contents of this letter (which had found its way into the newspapers), was, as his opponents contended, virtually an attack on the independence of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Presidency.

Lord Holland and Lord Durham have both written to me an account of Leopold's insisting upon Candia, and of the difficulty occasioned by his hesitation. The letter adds that 'they now talk of modified limits—not Arta and Volo—which are called Lord Grey's boundaries; on the strength of a letter said to have been received by Adair from you when at Paris, which he read to Pozzo, who took a note of it.' I believe I did write to Adair, with whom I had been at the time discussing the question of Greece, to the same effect that I did to you, proposing a different boundary as a *mezzo termine*, which might prove satisfactory to all parties. But I certainly did not expect to be quoted, least of all as wishing for the contraction of the limits of the new State, which I should never have thought of, except as facilitating a settlement, without diminishing in effect either its security or power. Holland wrote to me about the motion of which he has given notice. I entirely concur in his view of the question, and should certainly act upon it if I had anything to do with the negotiations. But I am not so well convinced of the expediency of the motion at present. I have the same doubt as to Lord Melbourne's.* If these measures are intended to distress the Ministers, I think they will find themselves disappointed in the result. Government has always an advantage in discussions of this nature when brought on prematurely. The public, too, is at this moment very indifferent with respect to them, or if they have any feeling on the subject, it is most likely to be directed against those who may appear disposed

* Lord Holland's motion on the affairs of Greece came on for discussion February 12 following; Lord Melbourne's on the affairs of Portugal on February 18. Neither of these motions led to any notable results.

to interfere too much in the affairs of foreign nations, at the risk of disturbing the general peace.

I think I have now answered everything in your letter ; and I have nothing to add from myself, except that Howick has had a most satisfactory explanation with Lord Cleveland, which puts an end to all difficulty about his seat. You were very good to ask him to dinner, and I am sorry he could not accept your invitation. I am sure he must have been really engaged or be wanted by the House of Commons, which he attends very closely.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Feb. 13th, 1830.

Many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter. How should I do otherwise than wait to hear your appreciation of political events before forming my own notions on the matter—seeing that you, living at your country house in the depths of Northumberland, have hitherto invariably predicted the changes of the political horizon far more clearly than the most sagacious of those who are so busied in acting their parts on the world's stage here in London ? For instance, did you not rightly tell me that the division in the House of Commons, which took place on February 4, would prove unimportant to the Ministry ?—while all the world here was foretelling an impending change, or, at least, some modification in the Cabinet. You foresaw that Lord Holland's motion would be of no effect ; while

everyone I spoke to in London was persuaded that some territorial advantage would accrue to Greece as a consequence of the debate. Well, as regards the first case, do we not find that the Ministry has remained exactly what they were—unchanged and unmodified? The Duke of Wellington does not even dream of any alterations, and his Administration has gained strength as a result of the last ten days' hesitation and senseless discussion on the part of his opponents. And, as regards the second instance, the debate of the 12th in the Upper House has only added to the arrogance and stiff-neckedness of the Government in the matter of Greece.

Prince Leopold has tried to negotiate better terms with the Plenipotentiaries during the late conferences. His demand for being put in possession of Candia was inadmissible. But he exacted that, at all events, efficacious measures should be taken to put an end to the civil war and the massacres; and certainly one word from the allies could at any time have achieved this. He has asked for a more extended frontier to the north; and has demanded that the three Powers should guarantee the establishment of the Greek State. Assuredly it was his right and his duty to endeavour to obtain for his new country the utmost possible advantages, and we had all very good reason for imagining that, at least, some portion of his demands would have been granted, more particularly the one which had for its sole object to save from certain extermination the Greek population of Candia. But the appearance of everything has changed within the last two days. The Ministers, from being amiable and yielding, have become haughty and uncompromising.

At this very moment, while I am writing to you, the conference is sitting at Prince Leopold's house. The thing looks badly, and it would not surprise me to see the Sovereign and the sovereignty both sent to the right-about. It would be a truly deplorable finish; and, good heavens! upon what a slight tenure do the most important matters in this world depend! Indeed, it is enough to make one cry, to watch all that is now being done and undone.

Ah, my dear lord, what a set of people your Ministers are! I feel I am very imprudent in saying this to you, very little diplomatic; but I must unburden my heart to someone, and you alone will not misunderstand me, and will keep silence. Above all, on what I have just written to you, do I invoke your utmost discretion. The epithet of *Lord Grey's frontiers*, given to the new limits of Greece, was an expression agreed upon between Matuscewitz and myself, but in such strict confidence that in my husband's presence we had never even alluded to them under this name. It would appear likely that between Matuscewitz and Pozzo at Paris these new limits also went by the name of *Lord Grey's frontiers*, and that Pozzo has proved less discreet than I have been.

All that you say with regard to the deplorable catastrophe of Lord Graves' death is very true, and, as you also were the first to foretell, the abominable article in the *Times* has brought about a favourable reaction in public opinion. People are beginning even to doubt whether there was, after all, any real intrigue between the Duke of C. and Lady Graves. Whatever may be the truth of it, the greater part of the world (including Lady Jersey and her set) will always remain prejudiced

against the Duke. She said publicly at a dinner at Lord Verulam's two days ago, she knew for a fact that the Duke of C. had already killed, or been the cause of the death of, no less than four men.

The Duke of Wellington dined again with us yesterday, but without any of his colleagues. We had guests of all parties. He appears very well in health, and is full of confidence in himself. He told me that the success of the 12th* was entirely due to his own efforts—and that is quite true. The tactics of his opponents are very comical. I do not in the least understand them.

By the way, my dear lord, I must not forget to congratulate you on Lord Howick's success. They say that his speech the other day was a model of energetic and straightforward speaking, and at the same time was remarkable for moderation and tact. I was delighted to hear such praise of him. We had a dance last Wednesday, and shall have a second in the course of this week; and to-night there is a ball at Princess Esterhazy's. You see we are full of gaiety, though Heaven knows all this does not amuse me much.

So Mr. Frankland Lewis† has enrolled himself, like the rest, under the all-powerful banner; it appears as though everyone were yielding to the charm. Both right and left, all succumb.

But really I must now say good-bye, my dear lord; and if I do not close my letter at once, most probably later I shall be prevented so doing. I will have no

* See note to p. 437.

† One of the Canningite party who had followed Mr. Huskisson when he resigned office in the Duke's Government in 1828. He now accepted the office of Treasurer of the Navy, which the Opposition wished to see abolished.

delay in despatching my letters to you, and trust thereby to hear from you in return the more quickly.

A thousand sincere regards.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Tuesday, Feb. 16th, 1830.

Since despatching my last letter to you, my dear lord, it has occurred to me that I omitted therein all mention of a matter upon which it was my intention to have given you some details when I began writing. I resume my pen, therefore, once more to-day, and proceed to the point which has reference to the Duke of Wellington's speech in the Lords against Lord Holland's motion about Greece.

You will remember, perhaps, a certain conversation I had with the Duke of Wellington in the beginning of April, 1828, of which, if I mistake not, I gave you a full account at the time of its taking place. The conversation occurred immediately after Russia's determination to declare war (against Turkey) had been made public, and the Duke took me to task most warmly, saying we were not in the right to declare war, and condemning our action as unjust and entirely unprovoked. Since then, the Duke of Wellington has changed his mind. He now declares, in the House of Lords, that the war had been provoked by Turkey, and that we were quite justified in what we did. In 1828 he maintained that we should live to repent the consequences of making war, which he foretold would last for, at least, six years. There is not a single diplo-

matist in London to whom the Duke has not, in the past, said and affirmed that success for us was out of the question, that we must end in being beaten, and, above all, that it was utterly impossible we ever could pass the Balkans. To-day he tells Parliament that he always foresaw the way in which the war would end, and that he is only surprised that it should not have been finished in a single campaign. Truly the Duke of Wellington has a convenient memory, and in spite of being (from past experience) well acquainted with the workings thereof, I confess to renewed surprise in this particular instance. However, on this occasion the surprise is a pleasure.

Since writing yesterday, the affairs of Greece have passed into a worse phase. Prince Leopold is much dissatisfied with the ill-favour shown towards Greece by the Ministers, and really I begin to fear that he may throw up the whole business. I cannot tell you how concerned we all are about it. The Greek Question must be brought to a close; there must be a proper Greek State constituted, and a Sovereign chosen. Prince Leopold is as good as any other, and even better than most; the Greeks wish for him, and are now awaiting him; God only knows what complications may not ensue.

For Russia it is absolutely necessary, on account of our relations with the Ottoman Porte, that this subject of discussion should be closed, and I assure you that to us it is now a subject of the gravest perplexity. Other great interests of state may be seriously compromised by Prince Leopold's refusal. It took five months to bring France and England into agreement on the choice of a candidate, and now they are going to begin, all

over again, the old intrigues and quibbles. It is truly deplorable. We suspect that Prince Leopold is acting at the instigation of some secret adviser. It is very evident that he is under the direction of someone, but who it is we know not. Certainly his adviser is not a friend of the Ministers. On the other hand, the English Government is hostile to everything which would tend to the advantage of Greece, and in this state of things it is impossible to arrive at any understanding. I believe, however, that the next twenty-four hours will see something settled one way or the other. After all, the three great Powers ought not to allow themselves to be turned into laughing-stocks. In all this, how often I think of your wise head, of your clear mind! Why are you not here? You are the only man to overcome all these difficulties, from which the others are now quite unable to extricate themselves. I have been somewhat struck this morning by an article in the *Times*, on the position of parties, and of the Government. To me it would seem impossible to advocate more clearly the doctrine of government by a Jacobin dictator, of the sovereignty of the people, and the desirability of flouting all Parliamentary control. Very mischievous doctrines surely are these to put forward, and yet, no one can doubt, at this moment, of the *Times* being the organ of the Government.

Adieu, my dear lord; to-day's letter is only a postscript to that of yesterday. I shall end with a diplomatic formula, and am *est in literis*. Is this good Latin?

Howick,

Feb. 17th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter of the 15th gave me more than usual pleasure, as nothing could gratify me so much as the reports you had heard of my son. They are the more flattering as the quarters from which you received them could, in all probability, have no expectation of their coming to me, nor any inducement to say what they did not think. I have always had the highest expectations of him. I know his natural capacity and his acquirements. I only feared his want of ambition, and too humble an estimate of himself, though this diffidence does not prevent his having a moral courage, *à toute épreuve*. He is now well launched, and, I hope, will go on vigorously and successfully ; to which the credit he has now gained will be a great encouragement, and the stimulus of my expectations shall not be wanting. Forgive me for dwelling so long on what is entirely personal to myself ; but my whole ambition is now transferred to Howick, and I feel sufficient confidence in your kind feelings to assure myself that what interests me so nearly cannot be indifferent to you. . . .

You know all my opinions on this eternal subject of Greece, and I will say no more of it till the final arrangement is made. In the meantime, if any allusion is made to ' Lord Grey's boundaries ' in the House of Lords, I have given Lord Durham authority to state what it was that I proposed, and with what view.

In the present state of the public feeling, as I have already told you, nothing will be attended to but our domestic concerns. The discussion of every other

subject will only serve as a useful diversion to the Ministers. But when any question of economy and retrenchment arises, they must be in hourly danger of being in a minority in the House of Commons; the only way of escaping this will be to do as was done on Sir J. Graham's motion* (which, by the way, was a foolish motion enough), viz. : to offer something more than was proposed to them.

What do you hear of the state of France? The opening of the Chambers approaches. What are the opinions as to Polignac's having a majority?

I really grow more and more stupid, so good-bye. Write soon; write largely—all the news and all the gossip. Write, in short, something to enliven me, if you wish to have an answer less dull than this. I should, however, have much to say if I could have the pleasure of seeing you—but it cannot be written.

Believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Feb. 20th, 1830.

I lose no time in answering your letter just received, my dear lord, because to-morrow is a blank day, and, besides, you are kind enough to express impatience to hear from me.

Unfortunately, I have nothing in the way of news to communicate.

With regard to the Greek affair, nothing has been

* Friday, February 12, against the 'Currency' policy of the Government; the ultimate majority for the Government was 115.

done since my letter of Monday. Only an animated dispute between your Foreign Secretary and the two Ambassadors, these last taking the part of Leopold against Aberdeen. Is it not a strange state of things, that thus causes two foreign Powers to back up an English Prince against an English Government? After all, it cannot be denied that the honour of the selection belongs to England, and, consequently, the *amour propre* of the two other Powers is in no way compromised should the selected candidate refuse. Now, Leopold's sole idea is the interests of Greece, and it is for this reason he is not a *persona grata* with your Ministers, though he entirely suits both France and Russia. However, now at last, we do hope, and for the hundredth time, to see the end of the business. There is another Conference between the three Powers, which surely must be the last; possibly, however, we may again be out of our reckoning.

It appears to me that Lord Melbourne has not done all that was expected of him. His speech on Portugal was without effect. Indeed, the Upper House is generally colourless; all the life and energy is to be found in the Lower, and Palmerston's speech in the Commons last Monday, on Greece, was approved of on all hands. Meanwhile, Ministers have plucked up courage; they believe themselves to be strong, and will make no change in the composition of the Cabinet—and a fine composition it is!

The news from Paris is grave for Polignac's Ministry, as it appears certain that the Chamber of Deputies will demand of the King their dismissal. And what will follow it is difficult to foresee. If the King refuses, the Chambers must be dissolved, and

this exercise of the prerogative may result in the election of an entirely Democratic Chamber, which would be the greatest misfortune. If the King is prudent, he will yield, and in this case it is probable a Ministry of Moderates may be formed ; otherwise one must bid adieu to all moderation. Polignac is resolved to face the storm. In that he shows somewhat the temper of the Duke of Wellington.

I know no Court news except that the Duke of Devonshire has been sent for. This is remarkable, after the affair of Mr. Brougham.* It has been told me in confidence that the King is going to make another attempt to induce the Duke of Devonshire to accept the post of Lord Chamberlain, and also that the Duke of Wellington is anxious to bring this about. I have my doubts as to the Duke of Devonshire agreeing, and certainly his refusing to accept would be disinterested enough on his part, for there is nothing in the world he covets more than this post.

Poor Palmella finds himself in a deplorable position. The Emperor Don Pedro has sent him peremptory orders to betake himself forthwith to Terceira, and inaugurate the Regency there, of which he has been named President.† But he gives him neither a ship nor money, and even refuses to honour the drafts of Villa Flor, which Palmella has received, and on the money of which Villa Flor is depending for the maintenance of both the island and the garrison. Palmella has now in his hands £30,000 worth of drafts, and lacks the

* The Duke of Devonshire had invited Mr. Brougham to sit for Knaresborough. (See p. 427.)

† Count Villa Flor, after his successful defence of Terceira against Don Miguel's expedition in 1829, continued to hold this island in the name of Donna Maria.

means of turning them into cash. He is therefore obliged either to take passage to Terceira in a merchantman, running the chance of capture on the way by one of Don Miguel's cruisers—in which case he will be hanged out of hand—or else he must remain on here, and then will be sent to the King's Bench within the week. I am extremely sorry for him. And what advice can one possibly give in such a case? So much for trusting in Princes!

The Duke of Cumberland is keeping quiet down at Kew. Perhaps he is right; and it is better to let the first ebullition of public feeling settle down with regard to him and the catastrophe of Lord Graves. Moreover, he and his wife are both ill.

It seems, my dear lord, that I have now exhausted all my budget of gossip, which you begged me to send you. When shall we be able to have a talk together? This writing is wretched work, but we have no alternative.

Adieu. A thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Feb. 21st, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter of the 16th was an unexpected pleasure, and I am grateful for it accordingly. I very well remember what you told me of the Duke of Wellington's having protested against the justice of your war. I well remember, also, the loud reprobation of all his adherents; they must, I think, have been more surprised even than you or me, when they found that the cause against which they had been taught to declaim as a violent aggression had turned out at last to be sanctioned by a plea of justice which we could

neither deny nor resist. The conversation of all the partisans of the Ministry was the same with respect to the eventual success of the war. But I am not so sure that the Duke himself really partook in an opinion which he might not be displeased to see entertained, in the hope that it might alarm you. I remember in a very short conversation I had with him on the subject, soon after the opening of the first campaign, he said he did not think the Turks would make any stand till you had advanced to Adrianople. My answer was that, if they could not dispute the passage of the Balkan, it did not seem to me that there could be much hope of a successful resistance afterwards. He shook his head, and said that was true.

Things are going on much in the way I expected from the strange state of parties in Parliament. These desultory, divided, and even contradictory measures are all to the advantage of the Government. But it is still exposed to the continual danger that some question may be raised on which it may be defeated by the concurrence of parties having nothing in common but their dislike or their distrust of the Administration composed as it now is.

I have just read the debate on Portugal,* which has not altered my opinion of the policy of the motion. I do not think Lord Melbourne and his supporters appear to have made the most of their case; but the truth is they were embarrassed by the original expedition to Portugal, and the ground on which that measure was supported by Canning. Having disapproved of this from the beginning, I should have had *beau jeu* with respect to all that has resulted from

* See p. 437.

it. As to Terceira, I do not think the defence of the Duke and Aberdeen at all satisfactory. I was a good deal amused by the complaint of the latter, that the charges against Miguel had been very much exaggerated, at the same time that he acknowledged him to be 'faithless, treacherous, perfidious, cowardly, and cruel.' These are the words as given in the papers, and I do not see how any person, the most disposed to exaggerate, could say anything worse. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most affectionately and entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Monday, Feb. 22nd, 1830.

At last, my dear lord, I believe I can announce to you the conclusion of this interminable Greek Question. Prince Leopold yesterday accepted the sovereignty of Greece. In all his hesitations, in all his intrigues (for by this term does your Government characterize his conduct in the past), he has had a most laudable end in view, and, in spite of the inconvenience which such long delays have caused us, we are amply compensated by the advantageous terms the Prince has been able to obtain for his new country. We truly rejoice in all this. Everything has been done that could have been done. The conduct of Prince Leopold entirely justifies the choice made of him; France and Russia are quite satisfied at seeing the throne of Greece occupied by him, and the *amour propre* of your Ministers must, I think, be equally so. I wished to let you know this good news at once, and

therefore would not wait for my usual day for writing to you. However, I must add that the Protocol, which will embody all this, is not yet signed, therefore I must beg you not to mention the subject in letters to your friends before hearing the official confirmation. The conference is sitting at this moment. Adieu, my dear lord ; I write in much haste.

A thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Feb. 24th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letters of the 20th and 22nd, the last this morning, and by the same post I have heard, from others, of the final settlement of the Greek Question, and of the acceptance of Prince Leopold. I offer you my sincere congratulations on the termination of this business, which, I cannot help thinking, it wanted only a right view of the interests of all the parties concerned to settle long ago.

I hear the black and white supporters of the Administration claim loudly for the Duke of Wellington the credit of having carried through this question, by means of the influence and power of England, to a settlement infinitely more advantageous to Greece than ever was contemplated, or could have been obtained by Canning. It must be confessed that the Duke's fortune does not yet appear to have forsaken him, when it can convert defeats into victories, and draw from them all the praise which would have attended the most decided success. In another respect the favours of this goddess are not less remarkable, in making his opponents much more serviceable to him

than his declared supporters. Nothing can have been more injudicious than most of the attacks made upon the Government ; and I cannot get over my surprise at the mistakes of Lord Melbourne. Surely he has been singularly careless and rash in his statements ; and with respect to Portugal, if he had forgotten all that passed in Parliament on the famous expedition, I should have thought his brother Frederick* might have supplied him with information which would have guarded him against the errors into which he appears to have fallen. Upon the whole the result, so far, appears to me to have added to the strength of the Government in Parliament. Peel seems to have availed himself with some dexterity of the openings given to him by his adversaries, and to speak with more confidence. The ultra Tories prove daily the impossibility of any co-operation with them ; and the chances of agreement between the heterogeneous parties into which the House of Commons is divided appear to me to diminish. In such a state of things it is not improbable that many to whom the atmosphere of opposition is most ungenial will gradually come over to the Government ; and the difficulties at Windsor, now that the influence of the Duke of Cumberland is at an end, will also cease. In short, the opinion which I expressed even after the division on the Address, that the Ministry will stand, is confirmed and strengthened.

The Duke of Devonshire's favour at Windsor, even after bringing in Brougham, may appear somewhat at variance with a part of this opinion, but you know our gracious Sovereign—his necessity of having some-

* Sir F. Lamb, late Minister at Lisbon.

one to whom he can make his complaints, and his policy in doing so to alarm his Ministers, and to obtain their compliance on personal objects. All this the Duke [of Wellington] will humour, without making any sacrifice of real power. As to the Duke of Devonshire, I do not think he will at present be tempted to take the Chamberlain's staff, much as he may desire it; but in time I shall not be surprised to see him again in that office. I really feel the deepest compassion for poor Palmella. The alternative to which he is reduced is not a pleasing one, but I am not sure that I should not prefer the King's Bench. What could he do, even if he had a safe passage thither, at Terceira? It would only be a prison of another sort, and, not improbably, subject to greater sufferings. Has he no refuge in the Brazils? We have letters to-day from Paris, which speak with increased confidence of Polignac's prospects. I am very curious to see the opening of the Chambers.

Whether his illness be real or political, I think the Duke of Cumberland has taken the best course in remaining at Kew. It is the general execration in which he is held that has been fatal to him, and the conduct of Lady Graves's sisters, in abstaining from all intercourse with her, serves to strengthen the general opinion that there was something particularly atrocious in the case. • Otherwise, prejudice apart, what is there more in this than in any other intrigue, where no seduction has been used? The ladies who declaim so loudly against the D. of C. have not, that I have heard of, banished George Anson, or any other of that *confrérie*, from their society. And yet what difference is there (or, if any, it is in favour of the Duke), except

that Lord Ellenborough did not shoot himself? . . .
Good-bye, and God bless you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Feb. 25th, 1830.

Many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 21st, which gave me much pleasure. At last I am able to announce to you that Prince Leopold has actually signed his acceptance of the throne of Greece. This only took place yesterday, and, as if to continue to the end the extraordinary character that this question has all along exhibited, it was the Russian Ambassador who ultimately succeeded in extracting from the English Prince what the British Plenipotentiaries had failed to obtain. Prince Leopold, even after having tacitly agreed (as I wrote to you) to all the conditions, raised further difficulties, which made his acceptance up to the very last more than doubtful. Aberdeen was furious, Laval was furious too, and my husband was not much behind them in ill-humour. The members of the conference commissioned M. de Lieven to go to Claremont and bring back a 'Yes' or a 'No' from Prince Leopold, as the three Powers were getting thoroughly wearied of all this uncertainty. After a somewhat long discussion at Claremont, my husband returned with the document signed by the Prince. And such was the end of this business. They do not, however, wish it, as yet, to be made public. You would not believe how much your Ministers dislike Leopold; for them he possesses an unpardonable

defect—that of being Greek. As I have already told you, from our point of view, this is his great merit, and I really think that common-sense is on our side.

My husband has received despatches from Petersburg, and by the same messenger several letters have reached me, all very satisfactory. The Emperor is doing wonderfully well, with regard both to domestic and foreign affairs. He is moderate and wise in every respect, wishing for peace, and desiring to live on good terms with everyone, but resolved, at the same time, to do nothing that would derogate from his dignity.

By the way, I must really transcribe for you a passage from one of Matuscewitz's letters. He writes :

'Are you curious to know who the man is whom the Emperor esteems the most highly in England, and for whom he feels the most disinterested friendship? It is Lord Grey. His Majesty has said so himself to me more than once, and you may believe how I endorsed his good opinion. He has evidently been prejudiced against Lord Holland, whose cause I warmly took up, and I flatter myself that I have been able, in some degree, to modify his unfavourable opinion. With reference to the present Ministry, the Emperor appears to me to be most fair in his judgment, without showing either ignorant trust or blind confidence. He waits until events shall prove up to what point it is wise to put faith in their promises. He is really fond of England, for he has a lasting and agreeable impression in his mind of his visit there.* He told me that his greatest wish was to visit England again. He spoke warmly and with gratitude of the reception that had been given to him.'

* In July, 1827, when the Czar was invested with the Order of the Garter.

Here is a regular bit of gossip for you, my dear lord ; but I tell you everything, knowing I can trust you. Now, do you not think that I have good reason for loving my Emperor ?

They say that the Duke of Cumberland is very ill with dysentery. I am going to-day to Kew, for the first time these four weeks.

The division the day before yesterday in the House of Commons* appears to me somewhat to have troubled the Ministers. They found their majority very small indeed. Have you heard how Sir James Graham was going to bring forward a motion about the office of Treasurer of the Navy ? It seems that he had secured the votes of Whigs, Tories, and Canningites, when all at once Lord Althorp and Brougham came, and declared to him that since the Ministers were sure to be beaten on this question they—having no wish to upset the Government—would feel themselves obliged to oppose the motion. This has quashed the whole affair. But, after all, what is Brougham driving at ? If the Ministers suit the country, well and good ; let them be upheld. But if there is a contrary conviction, of what use is such delicacy and deference ?

After all, it is no business of mine. Adieu, my dear lord ; we are quite in the midst of summer weather. How beautiful it must be on your sea-coast, and how I envy your comfortable and peaceful existence, whilst I am being worn out with London, and getting bored with everything !

* February 23, Lord J. Russell brought forward a proposal to enfranchise Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester. The motion was lost by forty-eight votes.

Howick,
Feb. 28th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your letter of the 25th, and as many congratulations on the final acceptance of Leopold. The course of this affair has, to be sure, been, in all its parts, most extraordinary. I give Leopold credit, on your assurance, for having acted as his honour and interest, and that of his adopted country, required. I have no doubt, however, that the whole merit of having established him as Sovereign in Greece will be claimed for the Duke of Wellington, as having been effected by his influence, and by the power of this country.

I was very glad to perceive that you were so well satisfied with your last communications from St. Petersburg, as one of the stories in circulation is that you had had '*une bonne Mercuriale*' from your Court, and that you had since been on your good behaviour to the Duke of Wellington. Knowing the truth, I was a good deal amused by this. I suppose the next thing we shall hear is, that you are continued here by the Great Captain's generous interposition to soothe the displeasure of your Emperor.

His mention of me is most flattering, and most gratifying to me. But I am too modest to attribute it to anything but the too-partial representations made by you, and perhaps by Matuscewitz. It appears to me that your Autocrat lives on much more pleasant terms with his subjects than the Sovereign of our more free Government. To be sure, there is a Siberia if you displease him, and no protection of the law against violence and injustice. But you have at this moment

the happiness of living under a wise and humane Prince, and the affection you express for him seems to me to be fully justified by his conduct. I have heard, however, for some time, and I see accounts repeated in the papers which came to-day, of great discontents, and of the degradation of several officers in the army. I conclude they are inventions, or at least great exaggerations, as everything you have written to me, and particularly your last letter, leads to a directly opposite conclusion.

I had not heard that Sir James Graham had given up his motion respecting the Treasuryship of the Navy, in consequence of the interference of Lord Althorp and Brougham. The view with which they have done this, if your information is correct, seems obvious enough. They wish to let the Duke feel his weakness by such divisions as that on Lord John Russell's motion, but not to carry a vote against him which might have the effect of overturning his Administration, without any security as to what would succeed. This may, for aught I know, be very good policy. I say with you, it is no affair of mine. But a plain, simple, and direct course is more to my taste. And *en jouant au plus fin*, I suspect they will find that they have an artist to deal with who is more expert than they are.

Have you seen Miss Kemble? I hear nothing but her praises from everybody, and particularly from my daughter Georgiana, who has been for some time in town with her sister. But I believe you do not particularly like plays, and still less tragedies.

I have always forgotten to tell you that Howick, on the day on which you asked him, was engaged to one

of the Speaker's Parliamentary dinners, an engagement which it was as impossible to put off as one to Windsor.

The crisis in France seems to be fast approaching. A letter from Lord Ponsonby speaks with more apprehension of the result. The news from Paris will now be the most interesting. You must be tired of this stupid letter, and I am ashamed of it.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

Tuesday, March 2nd, 1830.

I should sooner have answered your letter of the 24th, my dear lord, but really, hitherto, could not find a single moment for doing so; and when I think of the frivolous nature of my constant interruptions, I feel quite ashamed of myself.

One kills time in London, that is why I so much dislike the place; but I will not waste more now in these preliminaries. All that you write to me is so true, for at the moment of receiving your letter I was reading in the *Times* the confirmation of your predictions as to the honour and glory which the Government would arrogate to itself with reference to the Greek affair; whereas it is matter of notoriety that it was arranged contrary to their desires, their inclination, and their will. It is remarkable how many dupes there are in the world, and upon the assumption of this fact the Duke of Wellington acts.

The debate of the 25th in the House of Lords appears to me to have done him considerable harm. This opinion also is so general that there must be something in it. Even the Chancellor,* with whom I dined the day before yesterday, spoke to me of it in this sense. . . . He tells me that not only did the Duke make a very bad speech, but, moreover, that it was so full of false statements on matters of every-day notoriety, as to make it impossible for these to escape the criticism of even the most commonplace observer. In short, he could not conceive how the Duke could have said what he did, adding that he had made a deplorable exhibition of himself. Remarks such as these on the part of a colleague seem to me, certainly, very extraordinary.

Lord Rosslyn dined there. I ventured to put some questions to the Chancellor about him. His answer was that, in taking him,† they thought they were doing what you would have wished, but that, apparently, this had been a mistake; and it had been a decidedly bad bargain, as far as they were concerned, having only Lord Rosslyn to count on.

I cannot tell you, my dear lord, how it appears each day, more and more, what a poor creature Lord Rosslyn is. Formerly I had for him both the sincere regard I have for all your friends, and the esteem which I accord to everyone of whom you think highly. But his self-sufficiency and self-glorification have destroyed all these sentiments in me; he is really too insignificant.

The Duke of Cumberland is not yet convalescent; he is still suffering from a bilious attack, which he

* Lord Lyndhurst.

† As Privy Seal.

cannot shake off. However, he went yesterday to see the King. He does not appear to me to be out of favour in that quarter ; on the contrary, when I saw him to-day he was in excellent spirits about yesterday's visit. I am going this morning to Kew to wish the Duchess many happy returns of her birthday, which is to-day.

The Turkish Envoys have had their audience of the Emperor. Do you wish to know what they looked like ? They went in Cossack costume. Was not this an original idea ? Matuscewitz tells us that Halil Pasha, the senior Envoy, is a sort of Radical, crazy about constitutions and all kinds of reform ; his colleague was an Ultra after the pattern of the times of Louis XIV. Everyone at Petersburg was much amused by the contrast presented by the two Turks. The King cannot get over Prince Leopold's being Sovereign, and has refused to receive him. I believe that the Ministers have had to notice this, and will insist upon the visit. Leopold is, very naturally, deeply wounded and surprised at the refusal, because, after all, he did not imagine that he was committing any crime in accepting a proposal made quite as much by the English as by any of the other Governments. And he is not supposed to know that the wishes of the King and of his Ministers are at variance. This little hitch, however, is causing considerable perplexity to Aberdeen. Here is another of Lord Lyndhurst's little secrets : Aberdeen has lost somewhat of the King's favour since the affair of Leopold ; with regard to the Duke, he led me to infer that he is as much disliked by the King as ever.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Here is plenty of gossip

for you. I was anxious that you should hear from me at once, and have just written down everything as it came into my head. Lady Conyngham is in town for a few days. By the way, it was only yesterday that I heard your daughters were here. I have just sent them an invitation for to-morrow night. Lord Howick is at last going to dine with us. So you are alone at Howick. When shall we see each other again? Once more good-bye.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

London,

March 5th, 1830.

I am really most obliged, my dear lord, by your letter of February 28. I was as much amused as you were at the gossip about the '*Mercuriale*' we are supposed to have received. I cannot for a moment doubt who was the author of it. One is sure to find that Lady Jersey is at the bottom of every ill-natured report—indeed, I have the most positive proof of this. But I have taken my stand with her, and shall keep my own counsel. I know my place too well to quarrel with worthless people; but at the same time, I will never go after a person who, both politically and individually, says all she possibly can against me. I have noticed that since I have been very stiff she has become very polite.

What do you think of the speech of the King of France?*

I am inclined to criticise it on several points.

* The Session of the French Chambers had been opened by Charles X. on March 2.

First, 'the intervention of the Powers' with reference to the peace we have made with Turkey. This is truly amazing, seeing that there has never been any 'intervention' at all, and this for the excellent reason that we have all along protested that under no circumstances would we allow of any interference in what was our business alone. In this matter I cannot help making a comparison (very much to the favour of your Ministry), between this speech and that of the King of England.

Next, the announcement of an impending expedition for the destruction of the Barbary Power; a well-known project, it is true, but one which I never could have supposed that the French Government would have announced with so much pomp; for Austria and England are both against it.

And then the tacit menace to each and all who might show opposition to the present Administration in France; truly a most imprudent remark, and one cannot help auguring ill of it. We are now waiting to hear of the Address. I wonder what your Ministers will say to all this.

I am told that there was a meeting at Lord Althorp's the day before yesterday, which Sir James Graham refused to attend. They have called another for to-morrow, to which they hope to persuade him to go; and Brougham is endeavouring to explain and satisfy him as to why he opposed his motion.*

Such are the various reports which have reached me, and which I believe may be depended upon.

Lady Canning has just brought out a pamphlet on the Portuguese affair, very well done, and very powerful. I should like you to read it. It serves as

* See above, p. 457.

an answer to another pamphlet, the authorship of which has been attributed to Sir F. Lamb, but which is certainly not by him.

I have seen Lady Mary Wood here, but Lady Georgiana could not come. We are looking forward to seeing her next Wednesday. Lady Mary is in very good looks. Lord Howick, at last, is going to dine with us the day after to-morrow. . . .

When are you really coming to town?—before or after Easter?

Adieu, my dear lord. . . . Your letters are pleasanter to me than ever, because it seems that our opinions coincide on all subjects, and this is my ideal of perfect friendship. Long may it so continue!

To Earl Grey.

London,

March 12th, 1830.

I have been so long without hearing from you, my dear lord, that I acknowledge at once your letter of the 8th, received yesterday.* I was really amused on reading, this morning, of last night's debate in the House of Lords, to find (exactly as you had told me) the account of the self-glorification on the part of Lord Holland and Lord Aberdeen. So the Peace of Adrianople was brought about by England's remonstrances with Russia and Turkey! In truth this is something quite new, and my country will be highly edified by learning it. My husband contends that there never was, in any country in the whole world, Ministers who could tell falsehoods as yours do. We

* This letter is missing.

recognise that they have other qualities, but this in particular is what characterizes them most. It is certain that with patience and cleverness anything can be made to bear the appearance of truth. As regards the Ministerial utterances in the present case, one gets to their meaning by understanding exactly the reverse of what they say. Indeed, it is a very original Cabinet. . . .

There is no news from France, except what you see in the papers. Pozzo seems afflicted with dumbness, and does not say a word. I think he is quite stupefied by what is now passing, and what he thinks may possibly follow. Your Ministers here, however (with some of whom I was speaking lately), unanimously hold that it is quite necessary for the King to keep to his text, as the only means of maintaining himself. Very bad policy this, and a sure recipe for losing everything. Imagine risking the monarchy in order to keep Polignac! They must be mad to dream of such a thing, and it is very wrong in your Ministers to endorse any such policy, and only shows too plainly the share they had in bringing in the Polignac Ministry.

The 10th of April seems a long way off, and you may imagine what I thought of your threat not to come at all. This would be too absurd; you could not leave me out in the cold like that. Lady Georgiana came to our party at last, the day before yesterday. Lord Palmerston had somewhat spoilt my ball, but on the whole it went off very well.* The minority in the House of Commons was considerable.

* Wednesday, March 10, Lord Palmerston inquired whether Government would support the 'atrocities of the faithless usurper,' Don Miguel. On a division, the Government were left in a minority of sixty-seven.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I fear that I may have been somewhat impertinent in this letter, but I rely on your kindness. When I write to you I cannot help telling you everything that I am thinking of at the time, and my thoughts do not always take a diplomatic form.

Prince Leopold leaves on Monday for Paris. Thorny negotiations are still going on between him and your Government. I believe that Aberdeen would be thankful to see him at the deuce rather than in Greece. He had an audience of the King the other day, to which he was obliged to come in uniform, and Aberdeen also. The latter told me that the King had intended to get through the ceremony in about five minutes, instead of which he kept them for two hours, talking to Leopold on every possible subject except Greece. It quite satisfied Leopold.

I must end now. Good-bye again, my dear lord ; write frequently to me, at least till April 10. The pamphlet is positively by Lady Canning herself alone ; it made a great sensation here. You were perfectly right in your judgment as to its merits.

A thousand kind regards.

To Earl Grey.

London,

March 20th, 1830.

My best thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 16th.* I look forward with much pleasure to our correspondence, so soon drawing to an end, and to the pleasant conversations we shall have in its

* Missing.

place. What do you think of affairs in France? The Address,* as M. de Laval says, was 'lovingly hostile'; the King's answer is very dry and severe; possibly this may succeed, but if it should fail, who can foresee the end of the complications, the difficulties, and the dangers which may follow? It is indeed a fearful stake to play, thus to be imperilling the monarchy for the sake of M. de Polignac. Charles X., however, has now committed himself too far to be able to draw back; and this is what is alarming for all Europe, because no country can possibly look on with indifference while France is running the risk of a fresh revolution. Your Ministers approve highly the firmness of both the King and Polignac. People even say that they have counselled it, and that in this they are carrying into effect the doctrine openly preached by the agents of Austria—namely, that public opinion must be resisted. At any rate, such are not the principles which direct the policy of the Duke of Wellington's Government at home. Here he submits to public opinion, even though in France he may be exhorting *them* to brave it. He is brave enough for others, and—I was really going to say 'cowardly' for himself, but the expression would be too impertinent, coming from me. Any way, this subject is now exclusively occupying the minds of your public men, as also of all the diplomatic representatives in London.

We have heard lately from Petersburg, and in very flattering terms for my husband. I do not boast of this to others, but I tell it to you for more than one reason; first, because you will be interested to

* The Address plainly declared that the Polignac Ministry did not enjoy the confidence of the country. It was carried by forty votes.

hear it ; and next, because it will enable you to form a just estimate of how little has resulted from the inimical conduct of your Government towards us. The Emperor judges himself to be well served in London by his Ambassador, and he has never reiterated his satisfaction so frequently as now. I do not know if my husband will be able to get leave of absence, for going to visit his property this summer. His income suffers by his absence ; he has received none of his rents since his mother's death, for everything must remain *in statu quo* until his return. However, there are circumstances where even one's income must be lost sight of, and he is resigned to remain another year away, if the Emperor should really require it of him.

I hear that poor Lord Anglesey is in a terrible state of suffering and weakness. He will be a real loss, and one honest man the less in the world. The King is wonderfully well, and Lady Conyngham grows younger every day. Such is the news from Windsor, where, however, no one is admitted, except the Duke of Cumberland, from time to time.

I am not astonished at the silence of Lord Rosslyn ; you know what I think of him. He is a poor creature, and the atmosphere he is now breathing will not put more wit or wisdom into that empty head. But I am mistaken, perhaps, and possibly it may be a remnant of modesty which prevents him writing to you. Prince Leopold has postponed his journey to Paris, for he feared some disagreeable allusion to him in the Address of the French Chambers, and preferred not having to swallow it in person. I think he was right, but I imagine he will set off now, as it seems probable that the Chambers are to be prorogued.

Now good-bye, my dear lord, for I have come to an end of my news. Answer me quickly, and I will write soon to you in return.

A thousand kind wishes.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,

March 22nd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

After thanking you for your letter of the 20th, I fear I have very little to say in return. . . .

The state of France must, indeed, excite all our curiosity, and interests us most deeply. My fears of a revolution are not very great. But if the war now openly declared by the King against the Chamber of Deputies should lead to that calamity, I do not see why the other Powers of Europe should suffer by it, provided they have the wisdom to abstain from meddling with it in any way. This ought to be the Duke of Wellington's policy, consistently with the principles which he has so openly professed and so loudly proclaimed with regard to Portugal. But I know there is a difference between a revolution in favour of liberty and one against it. Pray write to me all you hear on this subject.

I am rejoiced at the approbation your Embassy has met with at your Court. You do only justice to my attachment in believing that this must be the effect of your communication ; it is the more satisfactory, also, as it removes, I hope, entirely any chance of your leaving us. If you go to Petersburg, however, I shall despair of your return.

I wish you would tell me something of the views of

your friends—I mean the remains of Canning's party. Huskisson's tone in the last debate seemed to me to be changed, and Peel to have gained more influence in the House of Commons. My opinion has always been, if the Ministers could avoid a question on which the different parties not connected with, or opposed to, the Government could agree, that they would get over the difficulties, which at the commencement of the Session appeared to be very great. So far, whether owing to their good management, or the bad management of their opponents, they have steered clear of this danger, and if nothing very embarrassing arises from abroad, I have little doubt of their getting to the end of the Session at the expense only of the trouble and fatigue of long nights and tiresome debates, which will have the effect more of wearying the public than injuring them.

I am really beginning to make my packages, but Lady Grey is not so well as she was, and both the time of my journey, or its taking place at all, must depend on the state of her health.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

March 29th, 1830.

You must forgive me, my dear lord, for not having written to you on Saturday, as also for my brevity to-day. I have not been well for some days, and I am in the midst of a series of domestic troubles, of which not the least is a child's ball we are giving to-night. I could not have believed the trouble this

has cost me ; and as I am now in the midst of all these complications, my thoughts are not as much at Howick as they would desire to be.

I have no news to send you from Paris, nothing but conjectures. They say that M. de Villèle will be named Premier. How they can hope that, in taking a Minister so eminently unpopular, they can repair the fortunes of an Administration already more than odious, I am utterly unable to explain to myself. As far as talent goes, he has it, and in plenty. But this very Chamber had turned him out. The French Government counts much on the success and glory of the expedition to Algeria for getting back its popularity. They will make the greatest efforts to ensure the success of the venture.* This expedition suits neither Austria nor England, but the same thing will happen here as did with our Turkish war, which was carried through in spite of you both. Pozzo's opinion is that France will remain quiet, come what may, and that is enough for us.

The slight defeat which your Ministers met with the other day made a prodigious noise, and was, after all, very unimportant.† I do not at all understand the tactics of the Opposition ; they appear to me to have neither firmness nor forecast. Those that I believe, and, in fact, know to be the most decided and persevering in their hostility, are the faction of the Canningites. However, I still think that the Government will stand, and they are now more than ever likely to get through the Session without hindrances.

* Sent out under Bourmont and Duperré. After many severe conflicts, the *Dey* was deposed on July 5, and Algiers taken.

† On Sir R. Heron's amendment on the Navy Estimates the Government were left in a minority of eighteen.

The recognition of Don Miguel will only take place after the Session of Parliament is over. There is no news of Palmella.

The King has been and is still ill. Your Ministers absolutely deny this, but I am certain of the truth of what I tell you. His gout has settled in some vital organ ; they are trying to drive it into the extremities, and yesterday he was slightly better. Really, my dear lord, I am quite knocked up with fatigue. I can only write good-bye. Leopold and your Ministers are at loggerheads again, and he threatens to throw up the sovereignty of Greece. But this, like all the rest, must be quite between ourselves.

Howick,

April 2nd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 29th on Wednesday. . . . We have really fixed Tuesday for our departure. That is, if Lady Grey is well enough, and the weather becomes more mild. . . . My occupations out of doors at this season are very interesting to me, and—with the extraordinary rapidity of the vegetation (in spite of the north wind), which makes the country beautiful—increase my unwillingness to move ; which I believe I should not do, if it were not for the pleasure of seeing you, and a very few others by whom I should be unwilling to expose myself to the danger of being entirely forgotten. My stay will probably be shorter than usual. By this you will perceive that I am not tempted to embark very actively in public business, by the present state of politics, in which, confounded as it is by the various passions and interests which actuate

the different parties, I do not see my way more clearly than you do. I have had, at last, a letter from Rosslyn, in which he tells me nothing, except that the Knight of Kerry is immediately to come into office, which I see announced in the newspapers. Is this expected to give much strength to the Government? Direct to me till Saturday next to Lambton Castle—Chester le Street. If any alteration in my plans takes place, you shall hear from me. At present I have not another word to say, except that I am always

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,

April 3rd, 1830.

I expected a line from you, my dear lord, but the post of this morning brings nothing, and as Monday is a long way off from Saturday, I take up my pen, although I have nothing to write in the way of answer. I have just come to the end of a most fatiguing week of late nights and dissipation. I am looking forward much to the repose of the recess; you cannot imagine how tiresome society is to me, and of how little use I find myself in it.

We have no direct news from France; but I am told that probably the first we shall receive will be that Polignac has quitted the Ministry, and that Villèle is in. We shall see how this will answer. Here nothing is talked of for the moment but the divorce of Lord Ellenborough. They are worrying this poor man in a cruel way. I foresee that the affair will be very annoying to various members of London society. Already

allusions more than indirect are considerably compromising my colleague's wife.* It is a most disagreeable affair, the more so as there is truth at the bottom of it. The world says that Lord Ellenborough is going to leave the Cabinet, to be replaced by the Duke of Buckingham. However, at present this is only gossip.

The King is better, just as the newspapers are beginning to notice his serious illness. The nomination of young Hope as Groom of the Bedchamber is making people talk. It is supposed they wish him to marry Lady Maria, with a peerage in prospect. You see, London has not forgotten how to speculate and find fault. I speculate also, my dear lord. I am counting the days; you must certainly be here on the 16th if you leave the 11th or 12th, as you told me. I will not waste my time or yours by telling you all the pleasure this gives me, but it *is* great, I assure you. Good-bye, then, for the last time but one, for I think I shall be able to answer one more letter from you.

A thousand friendly and sincere wishes.

P.S.—Prince Leopold leaves the day after tomorrow, the 5th, for Paris. He has been giving us some trouble; but, after all, he works and worries in the interests of Greece, and this is a crime that merits forgiveness.

Howick,
April 5th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter this morning was an unexpected pleasure. . . . I think the attack upon Ellenborough

* Lord Ellenborough, Prince Schwartzberg and Countess St. Antonio.

rather hard, though *he* will not meet with much compassion. I feel very indignant at the articles which are directed against the upper classes generally, and though your colleague may not be quite invulnerable, it is intolerable that any person should thus be made a mark for malevolent discussion. All this is too like what took place in France before the Revolution. It makes one feel ashamed of the times in which we live. To think that anybody, even a mercenary journalist, should urge the propriety of a witness being called upon to state before a public assembly the names of the persons whom, with or without reason, she might have set down as improper and dangerous companions! I think the Duke of Wellington can hardly suffer Ellenborough to go out at present. It would be giving him up to the inveteracy of his enemies. But I do not think it at all improbable that his extreme unpopularity may ultimately drive him out. In that case it would be rather curious to see him replaced by the Duke of Buckingham, who was, if possible, still more unpopular, though the dislike of him is not quite so fresh. It would spring out again, however, like the leaves which are budding around me, if he was appointed to a high office. It would be like substituting Villèle for Polignac, only without the advantage of Villèle's character for talent. I really have not another moment, but I will write again from Lambton after receiving the letter which I promise myself there. . . .

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

April 7th, 1830.

Just as I was about to answer one of your letters, my dear lord, another arrived. Excuse my not quoting the dates, for the letters are not by me. How glad I am to think that you are on the road up to London! Here I am back again in my fastness, to rest a little from the fatigue and tiresomeness of London. On my return there I may perhaps suffer from the one, but you will save me from the other. I can tell you nothing about M. de Villèle; the affair is going on, but is not yet brought to any term. Lord Aberdeen told me, the other day, that M. de Villèle, at the conclusion of his audience with the King of France, expressed himself willing to serve even *under* M. de Polignac. That is possible, but he certainly would be wanting to fling him out of the window before any long time had gone by. By the way, Aberdeen asked me when the Villèle of England (Lord Grey) was coming up to town. I first made him explain himself, and then I said that the comparison required two very essential conditions to make it exact: one, the favour of the King; the other, the will to turn out the Duke of Wellington.

Palmella has reached Terceira; and this is a great relief to me. I was most anxious about him, for this poor man seems to be pursued by constant ill-fortune.

Lord Ellenborough's divorce case is decided, and so an end put to the scandalous gossip and newspaper articles. All that you say is perfectly true as far as the effect is concerned; still, the cause of it all is none

the less vastly to be regretted. The recess will be long this year ; there will be nothing done in Parliament until the 26th. -

Good-bye, my dear lord. I find myself interrupted by a merry party of friends ; my colleague, Clanwilliam, young Prince Lichtenstein, and, to crown all, Laval. I say adieu, and rejoice a thousand times in thinking that I shall no longer be obliged to have recourse to a piece of paper for communicating with you.

Lambton Castle,
April 12th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter of the 7th on Friday, but delayed thanking you for it till I could say something more certain as to the time of our arriving in London. . . . We stay here till Wednesday, and hope to arrive in Berkeley Square on Saturday. . . .

I feel some spite against your colleague and her party for having shortened your letter, if, indeed, you felt an inclination to make it longer. Is it true, by the way, that Laval is in love with her ? I should think him rather too old to be quite to her taste.

The *Villèle d'Angleterre* amused me very much. You might have required a third condition to make the comparison just : that I should be an ultra-Royalist—a condition a good deal more improbable than either of the others. The quiet in France rather surprises me. Patient resistance is not in the character of Frenchmen ; but if the leaders of the Liberal Party can excite them at the right moment, it is certainly much better that they should wait. As we shall meet so soon, I

will defer everything else till that time. How happy I shall be to see you !

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most devotedly,

GREY.

Berkeley Square,

April 17th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

We arrived here between four and five, and I am sure you will be glad to hear that Lady Grey has not suffered from the journey. I long to see you, and will certainly call at Ashburnham House at two on Monday ; but I have some scruple in thinking that you come to town only for that purpose. I would propose to go to Richmond instead ; but my horses are not yet arrived. I have not yet seen a soul. What do you believe about the King ? It is hardly possible that the bulletin * should have been issued, except under the greatest apprehension.

Ever yours,

G.

* On April 15, the King's physicians issued a bulletin announcing that the King was ill of a bilious attack, accompanied with difficulty in breathing, and therefore that the customary birthday-fête in April was countermanded. The King's health grew rapidly worse, and on May 24 he sent a message to Parliament stating that it was impossible for him to sign papers with his own hand. The Bill authorizing the sign-manual was passed on the 28th.

END OF VOL. I.



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Lieven, Dar'ia Khristoforovna
(Benckendorff) kniaginia
Correspondence of Princess
Lieven and Earl Grey

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